

THE
SCOTTISH REVIEW.

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ART. I.—LANDED ESTATE AND FARMING IN THE
SOUTH-WEST OF SCOTLAND.

A VERY few years have elapsed since it was the ambition of the successful merchant, trader or lawyer, to acquire a landed estate, to become a local magnate or justice, the energetic cultivator of large turnips, a breeder of pork, and the founder of a family having a habitation and a name 'in the county.' The ambition was a laudable one; to a certain extent it still exists, and, it is to be hoped, will continue to exist. But it is beyond doubt that a great and serious change has occurred. The serious depression in agriculture which has now made itself felt for many years, the very moderate return derived from an investment in land, the difficulties which occur with and the demands of tenants, together with the numerous legislative changes which have recently been carried into effect, have all tended to dispel the desire to become a landed proprietor. Not long ago the writer of this paper was present when in the course of an after dinner conversation, an elderly gentleman asked across the table a young man of large fortune, whether he had an estate. 'No,' was the reply (with great energy), 'and a ——— good thing too; all I possess is a house of six rooms.' Such is merely one instance of the feeling now existing. Landed estate still retains its rights, but is shorn of most of its privileges. Until re-

cently the law of entail was in full force, now it is practically at an end,—a change which, on the whole, must be considered beneficial. It is doubtful whether the same can be said for other legislative changes. The abolition of the landlord's preference for rent (a privilege still existing in every civilized country except Scotland), the restrictions on freedom of contract, introduced by the Ground Game Act and the Agricultural Holdings Act, and the imposition of heavy additional taxation, have had a strong tendency to deprive landed property of its charms. These changes once made cannot be gone back upon; it is to be hoped that time will soften their asperities, and vindicate the wisdom of those who made them. Landed estate, particularly in beautiful neighbourhoods, must continue an object of desire to all who are in affluent circumstances, and it is unnecessary here to refer to the manner in which the affections of those who have been brought up in an old home, cling to every hill and glen, field and meadow with which they have been long familiar. An investment in consols may be more profitable, but it can never offer that permanent and real satisfaction which is afforded by the ownership of land.

The object of this paper is to give a short account of the condition of landed estate and agriculture in the South-West of Scotland, to examine slightly the causes of the prevalent depression, and to attempt to forecast the future that may be anticipated for the landed proprietor and tenant. The writer makes no pretensions to speak with authority, nor to offer lessons to those who are practical agriculturists; his only claim to be heard arises from a connection with the management of estates in the West and South-west for a considerable period of years.

Few persons probably quite realize the extraordinary changes that have taken place in the value of land within the last century, and the ups and downs which have occurred in the rent of farms. The tendency until ten years ago was in the main strongly upward; it is now rather strongly downward, and the question is, Have things got to the worst, and are they likely now to mend? On the whole, Ayrshire, and indeed the South-west generally, has not suffered so severely

as most of the other parts of Scotland, and the fluctuations in values have not been so extreme. Still they have been experienced here in a considerable degree, and it may be useful to refer to a number of cases. It is, of course, almost antiquarian to mention instances of a hundred years ago, but they are not without interest. The writer was acquainted with a lady of a considerable Ayrshire family in whose marriage settlement it was provided that she should have the choice of the mansion-house, offices, garden, and about forty acres of land rent free, or *thirty pounds a year*. Within her lifetime the annual value of the property so settled upon her might more appropriately be stated at three hundred than thirty pounds. We give below*

* It is agreed and ended betwixt the persons afternamed viz. Colonel William Dalrymple of Glenmure on the one part, and James Arthur in Benstoun on the other part, in manner following. That is to say the said Colonel William Dalrymple, (in virtue of the power and faculty contained in the Contract of Marriage betwixt William now Earl of Dumfries, and Lady Annie Gordon, Countess of Dumfries, his spouse), has sett and by these presents setts and in Tack and Assedation lets to the said James Arthur and his heirs and executors, (secluding assigneys from all benefits hereof), all and hail the lands and mailling of Benstoun, with houses, biggings, yeards, mosses, muirs, meadows, and whole pertinents of the same, as the same are presently possest by the said James Arthur himself, lying within the paroch of New Cumnock, Kingskyle, and Sherifdome of Ayr, and that for the space of nineteen years from and after the term of Whitsunday, one thousand seven hundred and flourty four years, which is hereby declared to be the commencement of this present tack : And from thence furth to be peaceably laboured and possessed by the said James Arthur and his forsaid during the foresaid space with free entry and ish thereto and therefrom without molestation. Which Tack above written, the said Colonel William Dalrymple obliges him his heirs and successors, to warrant to be good and sufficient to the said James Arthur and his forsaid, at all hands and against all deedly as law will. For which Causes the said James Arthur binds and obliges him, his heirs, executors, successors and intromettors with his goods and geir whatsoever thankfully to content and pay to the said Colonel William Dalrymple, his heirs, executors, or assigneys, or to his Factors and Chamberlains in his name, the sum of Fourteen pounds eight shillings and tenpence and two-thirds of one penny sterling, yearly, at two terms in the year, Martinmas and Whitsunday by equal portions : Beginning the first terms payment thereof at the term of Martinmas Invije and flourty four years for the half year

copy of a lease of the farm of Benston in New Cumnock Parish, (the brevity of which may be favourably contrasted with the prolixity of modern documents,) wherein the rent stipulated is under £15. The farm is now occupied by descendants of the same tenant at the yearly rent of £230, and, it is believed, even in these hard times, in circumstances of much greater comfort than was enjoyed by their ancestors. In the letters of James Boswell, the celebrated biographer of Dr. Johnson, it is stated that the rental of the large estate of Auchinleck, in Ayrshire, about the year 1750, amounted to £1200, which, taking the

immediately preceding, and so forth thereafter at the said terms during the space of this Tack : Together with the number of thirty loads coalles leading in summer yearly, and six good hens in January or february yearly : As also to pay the whole cess to be imposed upon the said lands yearly during the foresaid space, the half whereof is to be allowed in his yearly rent, and to pay and perform Multure and Service to the Heirs of Skerrington used and wont, and to pay the ordinary officer fee yearly, and to pay and perform boon work and Service used and wont due furth of the saids lands yearly and to uphold the houses on the lands hereby sett in a sufficient tenentable condition and leave them so at his removing therefrom, and both parties oblige them and their foresaids to perform the premises to others in every article under the penalty of fifty pounds Scots to be paid by the party failzier to the party observe or willing to observe attour performance, and they consent to the registration hereof in the Books of Council, and Session or any others competent, that letters of horning on six days charge and other diligence needfull may pass hereon and constitut.

Their Prors, etc., In Witness Whereof these presents (written on stamped paper by John Macroskie, (Writer in Cumnock), are subscribed by both parties as follows, vizt. : by the said Colonel William Dalrymple at Edinburgh, the second day of December, one thousand seven hundred and flourty two years, before these Witnesses George Mulcaster and Laurence Cuninghame, both servitors to the said Colonel W^m. Dalrymple and by the said James Arthur, at Cumnock the sixteenth day of the said month of December Jmviiji and flourty two years fors^d, before these Witnesses, William Fergusson, Edinburgh, and the said John Macroskie, Writer, hereof.

(Sgd.) George Mulcaster, Witnes.	(Sgd.) Wil. Dalrymple.
(„) Laurence Cuninghame, Witnes,	
(„) Will. Fergusson, Witnes,	(„) James Arthur.
(„) John Macroskie, Witnes.	

same property into account, has now probably increased to £7000 or £8000. The writer has now before him a factor's cash account for the year 1795, in which the factor charges himself with so much rental in money, 379 hens, 408 chickens, 699 loads of coal, besides numerous sundries, but winds up with a significant and serious list of 'arrear' amounting to three-fourths of the rental, showing only too clearly that the poor tenant 'bodies' were 'scant o' cash.' Similar experiences, however, of large increases of value are familiar to nearly all. The reverse side of the picture is not so familiar. For many years during the war time at the commencement of this century, the value of land continually increased, farmers made considerable fortunes, and farms were greatly in demand. At that time Dr. Coventry was in high repute as a valuator; he went in for high rents, and demonstrated to a certainty that no diminutions of values could take place. Most people fail to remember that during the period in question many farms were let at higher rents than they command now. But with the advent of peace came a change, and about the year 1820 farms formerly keenly in demand became unmarketable. About the same time several of the best farms in Carrick lay vacant for years. This depression was of long continuance; capital was scarce, prices of produce and of stock were alike low, there was little enterprise, and the farmers were generally of small means. In one estate with which the writer is acquainted, of a total rental of £10,000 there was annually arrears of £5000 or £6000.

If, therefore, we look back upon the state of affairs as it existed in Ayrshire and the part of Wigtonshire adjoining it, we find that from 1820 to 1840 there was practically very little animation in agricultural affairs, and apparently but few improvements were carried out. The prices of grain, dairy produce, and stock, remained during the whole of the 20 years in a state of stagnation, and although the farmers got along in a tolerably comfortable way, they were obliged to live in a very hard fashion as compared with the mode of living prevalent among the same class in the present. It is not very easy to get authentic information as to the prices of stock or dairy produce during

the period referred to, but as a rule they were undoubtedly low. About the middle of it, between the years 1830 and 1840, grain crops obtained a considerable advance in value. In 1836, a year of exceptional drought, the fiars of wheat for Ayrshire are stated at £2 8s. 1d. per quarter, and of the boll of meal of 140 lbs. at £1 2s. 11d. The prices appear to have continued high up to the beginning of 1840, when for a period of five years low prices were again the rule. With the development of the iron industry, which took place in Scotland about this time, quite a revolution set in throughout the whole of the west of Scotland in the demand for all sorts of agricultural produce. This was, in point of fact, the first cause by which many farmers were enabled to extricate themselves from the difficulties in which they had been involved, and from which there arose a much more cheerful feeling throughout the whole of the district. The development of railways followed, and, as every one now fully recognises, has had a most important influence on the value of landed estates and the condition of the agriculturist. From 1845 to 1848 was, in fact, a time of great inflation, and was followed, as such periods always are, by a period of equal depression.

The writer of the present article began to be connected with the management of land about the year 1850. At the time, although great interest was taken by many proprietors in the development of their estates and the furtherance of agriculture, there still existed a great deal of depression which continued for several years. The effects of the repeal of the corn laws had begun to make themselves more keenly felt, and from 1849 to 1852 prices of nearly every kind were low, and rents in consequence were moderate. A strong impulse towards the improvement of land had, however, been given by the Government loan of a large sum for works of drainage. Scotch proprietors in general, and perhaps more particularly those of the South-west, were not slow to take advantage of the boon thus offered by the Government, and large sums were applied for. The loans thus obtained proved a great advantage both to proprietors and tenants. The money was advanced without difficulty and with very little expense, the

proprietor having it in his power to make an application personally without the intervention of an agent, when a provisional certificate was issued, and he then carried out the work at his own hand, subject to inspection by a practical man appointed by the Lands Commission. As soon as any considerable portion of the work was completed, a certificate of advance could be applied for, which was recorded in the Register of Sasines, and thereafter the money was obtained without difficulty. The total expenses were extremely moderate, and the capital was repayable by a rent charge of $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for twenty-two years. The actual rate of interest (the remainder being applied to redemption of capital) was about 3 per cent., and in many cases the proprietors were able to arrange with their tenants to pay the whole rent charge, so that the outlay was gradually redeemed without outlay by the proprietor. He of course gave his security, and was obliged to run the risk of the success or failure of the experiment. The works of drainage so effected proved very beneficial, though it is unquestionable that they were in some respects imperfect, owing to the prevalence of an erroneous idea that it was possible to secure an effective system of drainage by placing the drains 30 to 40 feet apart, and at a depth of from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 feet. Such a system might have answered in open porous subsoils, but in a great portion of the land in the West of Scotland, which has a clay subsoil, it proved a failure. But though much of the drainage so carried out had not the permanent good effect which was anticipated, there can be no doubt that it lent a stimulus to agriculture, and laid the foundation for works of drainage on a better system. About the same time the green crop system of husbandry was largely extended in Ayrshire. Its introduction, it was believed, would have the effect of a permanent improvement of the land. The best farmers, accustomed to more generous localities, were strong advocates for it, and looked upon it as the foundation of all good husbandry; but for a large portion of the soil in the West of Scotland it turned out to be altogether unsuitable, and those farmers who adhered to the old system of taking two crops of oats, without the intervention of a green

crop, proved really the most successful farmers. About 1852, it was no uncommon thing for a farmer to put in from 20 to 25 acres of green crop who does not now cultivate more than 3 or 4 acres; and seeing how necessary it has become to manage land at as little expense as possible, and to devote it principally to grazing purposes, there can be little doubt that the wisdom of our ancestors has in this case proved the rule to be followed.

It seems right to mention that in the period of which we are now speaking, the custom was adopted on many estates of taking a rent of the nature of a produce rent, which varied according to the value of grain and dairy produce. A considerable number of the best farms were let for a payment of so many bolls of wheat and so much money, a system which is not at all peculiar to the south-west of Scotland. What probably was peculiar was the system of making the rent dependent, to some extent, on the price of cheese and butter, as there were no public averages to be obtained of the value of these commodities. On one large estate in Ayrshire with which the writer is intimately acquainted, the system followed was to convert the money rent into a produce rent, composed of one half cheese taken at an average of 9s. per stone of 24 lbs., or in other words $4\frac{1}{2}$ d per lb.; one fourth meal, taken on an average of 15s. per boll, and one fourth money. Thus a tenant in making a bargain for a farm of the value of say £100 a year had the option of taking it either at that sum, or of a produce rent of 110 stones of cheese, 35 bolls of meal, and £30 of money. It was stipulated that the cheese should vary only from 8s. to 10s. per stone, or from 4d to 5d per lb., which was probably rather a low range of variation, and the meal was to be taken according to the fiars prices, but not to be less than 12s. nor more than 18s. per boll. On some other estates, in the neighbourhood of Paisley, the rent was in a measure fixed by the prices of butter, and the custom was to obtain a return from a few of the shopkeepers in the town. On other properties, again, the rent was fixed according to the principle of 'upholding'; that is to say, when a bargain was made for a farm, say for example of £100 a year, it was stipulated that that rent should be payable only so long as the price of cheese

was not under 5d per lb., and that if it fell to be lower, the tenant should receive a corresponding reduction. These arrangements, now that there is a feeling abroad in favour of reverting to some such system, are all of considerable interest. It may be noted, however, that those farmers who adopted the money rent at the time referred to, had very much the best of the bargain, and that the greater number who selected the produce rent found the result ultimately disadvantageous. Although it still exists upon some estates, this system of produce rent has to a very considerable extent died out, the farmers having come to the conclusion that it is better to adopt a stated, or to call it by its old fashioned name, a 'christened' rent, rather than to run the chance of the rise and fall of the markets.

The period of which we have just spoken — from 1850 to 1860—was in the main characterised by a great increase in the value of land, owing in no small degree to the demand for farms caused by the Crimean War. During the middle portion of it grain farms were in good demand, good prices were obtainable, the seasons were favourable, and in the present writer's opinion there has been in the West no better time for letting the ordinary class of farms. It is not improbable that this opinion is not generally shared, yet those who are able to look back to about 1854, when there was both a fair market for dairy produce and a good price obtainable for all kinds of grain, will remember the great demand that existed for moderate arable farms. The price of stock, it is true, had not then advanced to anything like the amount it afterwards arrived at, but all other kinds of articles which the arable farmers had for sale were in very good demand. It is probably not too much to say that the class of farms now referred to advanced in value about twenty per cent., and, as already mentioned, they have never since commanded, and do not now command, the same rent. These prosperous times continued up to the year 1860, when the *fiar* price of meal for Ayrshire was slightly over a pound, and for wheat forty-eight shillings per quarter, which, though not nearly so high as attained in 1854 and 1855, was unques-

tionably a good price. During the same time a very great advance, which will be afterwards more particularly referred to, had occurred in the value of sheep and wool, so that hill farmers were extremely prosperous, and the demand for stock-farms suddenly shot up. Indeed, it may be stated that from about the year 1859 until recent times, land throughout Scotland rose very highly and rapidly in value. There appeared to be a constant demand for all classes of land, and there was little or no appearance of any such revolution as has been lately experienced. It is necessary, however, to notice a depression which set in about 1861. This depression, although it may be regarded as partial, was for the time being extremely severe. A succession of wet and cold seasons had diminished the fertility of the soil. There was but little to sell on many farms, and only a bad price was obtainable. Bad seasons have been experienced since, but on the whole the period referred to may probably be ranked among the worst for all classes of ordinary arable farms that has occurred during recent years. The best classes of farms were not so badly affected, and least of all were those near the sea shore. The consequence was that this last class of farms continued well in demand, and were profitable to their occupiers. At the same time, the farmers in the hill land continued to be prosperous, so that in point of fact it was principally small men possessed of little capital, but who have throughout distinguished themselves by carefulness, economy, and industry, who suffered most severely. About the year 1865 a change for the better fortunately ensued, and from that time up to the year 1878 the prosperity of agriculturalists in this district of Scotland may be said to have been unchecked. It must not be overlooked, however, that proprietors in general were almost too ready to spend money upon their properties, and that they incurred a very large expenditure in buildings and other estate improvements. It may be taken as an axiom which cannot be too carefully kept in mind by proprietors, that expenditure upon landed estate is easy to make, but very difficult so to make as to secure a permanent return. In not a few instances buildings have been erected which, instead of being any convenience or benefit to the

tenant, are really quite the reverse. It is only natural that the tenant should desire to be well housed and to have everything around him comfortably appointed; but the fitness of things should never be disregarded, and a large house is frequently the means of leading a tenant into expense which he can ill afford. Instances are not wanting of houses being erected with the view of being a comfort to the tenant, which became practically of no use, and where apartments, intended for drawing-rooms and libraries, were applied to the possibly better purpose of keeping grain and potatoes.

In a subsequent part of this article, an attempt will be made to enter more minutely into the effect of the times in regard to the different classes of farms in this portion of Scotland; it is unnecessary, therefore, to refer more particularly at present to what may be termed the good times prior to 1878. In that year the failure of the City of Glasgow Bank occurred in the month of October, and had an immediate effect upon the agricultural interest. Cheese and dairy produce became almost unsaleable, and it was fortunate indeed for the farmers of Ayrshire that a great number of them had disposed of their stock before the failure of the Bank took place. It is scarcely to be conceived that such would have been the case, but it is a fact that the collapse of this bank produced so profound a feeling of distrust throughout the district, that all traffic in these articles practically ceased. It would not be too much to say that the reduction in value was something like 30 per cent., and that in many cases no market could be obtained. A large quantity of American cheese, with which the market chanced to be stocked, had to be sold for what it would bring, and, of course, helped seriously to enhance the depression. Fortunate indeed was it for the agriculturists that most of them had been able to lay aside something from the profits of previous years, and that they were thus in a position to meet the losses they began to experience. The unfortunate change which then came over the position of the farming interest throughout Scotland has remained more or less ever since. Farmers, however, were naturally not slow to draw attention to their grievances, and to inform their proprietors that the rents were too

high; and thus arose the necessity for considering the question of abatements, always a matter of the greatest difficulty, but one which can probably scarcely be avoided in estate management. The large arable farmers, and perhaps particularly those in the Lothians, were of course among those who took the lead in endeavouring to procure remissions of rent. An article which appeared in a leading Scotch newspaper at the time is worth quoting to show what was the feeling that existed. A large proprietor having declined to listen to the suggestion that he should make some concessions to his tenants, had argued, that if would-be tenants of farms continued, as they were, more numerous than the farms, rents were sure to rise; and that in all probability they would rise higher than they consistently should with regard to the tenants' profits. Farmers, he maintained, had no right to complain if they were put under any disadvantage by there being too many of them, or by there being too many people who were anxious to be of them. When he had a farm to let, he chose not the highest bidder, but the man who was likely to prove the best tenant, and had sufficient capital; and having chosen his tenant in this way, he thought he should be held to his bargain. He did not find tenants come to him in a good season saying that they had more profits from their farms than they knew what to do with, and he saw no reason why he should give a diminution of rent in a bad season. A bargain, he said, was a bargain, and men who took farms ought to know what they were doing. After remarking that the point to be most taken to heart by the farmers was that with regard to the diminution of rent, the writer of the article went on to say:—

‘It may be questioned whether there is any worse cause of mischief in the farming interests than these diminutions. They are departures from a bargain in a way which is nothing but hurtful to farmers who know their business. They imply to begin with that rents are too high or else that the farmer is destitute of self-respect. If he holds his land at a fair rent, he can on the average of years make a fair profit if he sets his good years against his bad years, and in the end he comes out very well. If however he wants remissions of rent in bad times, it follows that the rent he has agreed to pay is only that which good years will bear,

which is the same thing as saying, that it is too high. The effect then of diminution of rent in bad years, is to keep rents at an unduly high point and to bring into the farming business men who are either reckless or moneyless. Tenant farmers will be wise to take this phase of their difficulties into careful consideration. No doubt many of the remissions of rent are made from the best motives in the world, but they should be looked upon as so called charitable gifts which like many other gifts of the kind do an immense amount of mischief. Few men perhaps under the pressure of a bad season would refuse such remissions but none the less the receipt of them has a pauperising effect. There are people who in talking of the relations which they think ought to exist between landlord and tenant, will speak of sympathy and the kind consideration which landlords ought to have for tenants. That is all very well, but men need not sympathise with each other less because they stick to the bargain they have made. They are more likely to be good friends when each fulfils his engagement to the other than when one assumes the part of superior and the other dependant.'

We have quoted this article at some length because it has always appeared to us to state forcibly and well the argument against periodical remissions of rent, although the present writer cannot say that he fully agrees with the propriety of the view which it advocates being adopted.

There can be no doubt whatever that remissions of rent are objectionable, and that it would be very much better if it were possible to do without them. It is true also that at least until lately a degree of recklessness existed among the offerers for farms, and that the question the offerer put to himself was not so much, what can I afford to pay over an average of years, as what sum will take the farm. It is believed that but few of those in the management of property ever thought of accepting a man as tenant simply because he made a high offer, but the difficulty arose from the fact that the man who made the best or nearly the best offer was constantly the most desirable as a tenant both in respect of experience and capital. It would not therefore have been fair to have declined his offer simply because the person who had the farm to let thought the offer too high, a matter upon which the offerer ought to have been a much better judge than the person having the farm to dispose of. Besides, it must not be overlooked that when a bargain is made for a lease of 15 or 19 years, there must always be

fluctuations in value which cannot be taken into account or contemplated. The prudent may, it is thought, have looked forward to a considerable diminution in the value of grain stuff, but it is scarcely possible that even the most prudent ever anticipated a fall so low as that which has been actually experienced, owing to the great breadth now under crop in India and elsewhere, and to the facilities which exist for carrying it at a low rate to the home market. Recently the writer was informed by a friend who had just returned from Bombay, that on going to the port of exportation he passed through what might be described as miles of sacks of wheat awaiting shipment. This wheat is grown almost without expense either for labour or rent, and is carried to England at an unprecedentedly low figure. But even admitting that some such forecast may possibly have been made with respect to grain, it is far from probable that anyone ever anticipated anything at all like the large importations of cattle and sheep which are now made into this country. Another change that was scarcely anticipated is the importation of dairy produce from America as well as from France, Sweden, and other parts of the Continent. The condition of the iron industry, formerly so important in Scotland, is another most important factor in the diminution of value, and at present causes much anxiety to all who take the future of that industry into consideration. Putting all these things together, we imagine that the landlord will do well to hesitate before parting with a good tenant suffering severely from the general depression. If he takes the condition of affairs into careful consideration, he must see the propriety of lending a helping hand at an exceptional time. The difficulty is to do so with discretion, and to overcome the natural reluctance to part with the tenant. That feeling, though in some respects to be admired, is one that ought to be overcome, as nothing can have a worse influence in the long run than to bolster up and retain in their position tenants who have lost their energy as well as their capital and are allowing everything to go to the bad. We are of opinion, therefore, that while remissions of rent cannot be dispensed with, they ought to be avoided as much as possible, and to be given

effect to with careful discrimination. It is an easy matter for a man otherwise wealthy to concede as much as fifty per cent. to his tenants, and he will no doubt be praised for doing so; but, at the same time, it is an injustice to others, and of very doubtful benefit even to the men who receive the concession. The present is an anxious time to those proprietors who are dependent upon their rental, and who are generally (it is feared) burdened with mortgages, and certainly with heavy taxation. It is a simple theoretical remedy to advise them to sell, but that course is not in practice open to the great majority of them, and it would be most undesirable to sever the tie which happily exists between many proprietors even of moderate estates and men who have occupied their farms for a long series of years. There seems, in the meanwhile, no remedy but the adoption of strict economy and carefulness of management on both sides. A change for the better may be long in coming, but it is hoped and believed that it will come, and that the present depression, like many others, will come to be regarded as a thing of the past.

Farms in the South-west of Scotland may be divided into three classes, viz., Dairy farms, Stock farms, and Arable farms. Of course, in many instances they are of a mixed nature, but the division is sufficient for all practical purposes, and to these three classes we now propose to direct the reader's attention.

A peculiarity of this part of Scotland is that although it may be said to be a highly cultivated district, it contains a very large proportion of small farms. From a return prepared a few years ago, and which is probably in the main still accurate, it appears that there were in Ayrshire somewhere about 2500 farms, of which no fewer than 760 were let at a rent not exceeding £100 a year; about 1500 let at a rent between £100 and £200 a year; 250 at between £300 and £600 a year; and only about 30 at a rent exceeding £600 a year. In Renfrewshire the proportions were much the same. Galloway and Dumfriesshire had a considerably higher proportion of large farms, and not so many small dairy possessions.

I.—DAIRY FARMS.

The branch of industry comprehended under this head may

be regarded as the leading one in the district, and will probably continue to be the most important. It is confined to what is practically a small area, and has the advantage of being capable of successful management with a moderate capital and little expenditure. There are three sub-divisions of dairy farms—(1) those in which the tenant makes butter, a comparatively limited number; (2) those from which the milk is sent for sale into towns in the immediate neighbourhood or despatched by railway to Glasgow; and (3) those which are mainly confined to the manufacture of cheese.

With regard to the first of these sub-divisions, butter-making is an art in which, unfortunately, but few excel. The manufacture of fresh or sweet butter, when successfully carried on, is as profitable a mode as any of disposing of dairy produce, but it requires a knowledge of the art, the vicinity of customers, and the building up of a connection. It is not likely therefore that this branch of dairy industry will be very largely extended even although it offers in some respects peculiar advantages. The milk selling dairies on the contrary are likely to increase in number. The most profitable way of managing a dairy is beyond doubt to sell the whole of the milk to customers in the neighbourhood of the farm; if customers are to be obtained. The difficulty lies in the fact that the trade is apt to be overdone, and in the farmer finding himself left with a portion of his produce on hand at a time when he can turn it to little account. The sale of milk to Glasgow and one or two other large towns has, however, been a great resource to the dairy farmer. A great number of farms have easy access to a railway and it is a special advantage to get the whole of the milk off the premises with little labour. The price of late has sunk to a low figure even in large towns, owing no doubt to the unusual amount of competition combined with depression among the working classes. Good pure milk is, however, almost a necessity of life, and it is much to be regretted that in such towns as Glasgow there are not greater facilities for bringing the producer and the customer into direct connection. Under the provision of recent statutes farms from which milk is sold, require to be inspected and certified as fitted

for such sale in respect to cleanliness, ventilation, water supply, and the like, before the tenant can be licensed to sell milk. A similar rule applies to milk shops. The proprietors of these in large towns have probably the best of the bargain; and it is thought that a syndicate of farmers who would establish a few shops under their own control for the sale of their own produce exclusively, would most likely find it a profitable speculation.

The third subdivision of dairy farms is the one which represents the staple industry of Ayrshire. The Dunlop or Ayrshire cheese has long been famous in its way. Farmers who manufacture this class of produce may be styled the representative agriculturist of the district. They are men whose whole life has been associated with cows and dairy management; their wives and daughters have been brought up to it from their earliest years; and their carefulness of management and economy are wonderful. The small amount of hired labour with which these farmers manage their farms is really astonishing; and it is highly creditable to them that during long periods of depression they have been able to hold their own. These men and their success form a practical protest against the craze (now probably passed away) for doing away with small farms and putting large areas of land into one hand. Outsiders may describe them as unintelligent and wedded to their old customs, sometimes even as cunning and grasping, but the writer of this article has great satisfaction in bearing testimony to the sterling worth and character in the main of the small tenantry with whom he has been acquainted.

As just mentioned the Dunlop cheese was the original product of Ayrshire and Renfrewshire, and its manufacture is still continued on many farms. But a considerable number of years ago a great step in advance was made by the introduction into the locality of the Cheddar method of making cheese. It occurred to some of the then leading members of the Ayrshire Agricultural Association, that it would prove of great advantage if a more careful and scientific mode of manufacture were introduced and a class of produce made which could compete with the high class English cheese. Accordingly a deputation was sent to England,

who at first, it is believed, had in contemplation the introduction of the Cheshire mode, but after careful enquiry they recommended for trial the manufacture of Cheddar cheese as made in the neighbourhood of Bath. The recommendation was keenly taken up throughout the district, many landlords afforded their tenants the benefit of instruction from a practical English maker, and the introduction of the new system proved so decided a success, that it is not too much to say, that no improvement in agriculture has of late years been of the same benefit to the tenantry of this part of Scotland. Like other improvements it has had its own difficulties to contend with; but one of the highest testimonies to its excellence is that those who still continue to make the old Dunlop cheese (for which some places are still the best suited) adopt most of the changes introduced by the Cheddar method. The Cheddar mode of manufacture has now spread widely and is nowhere carried to such perfection as in the large farms situated in the best part of Galloway. These farms lie along the coast from Stranraer round by Wigtown and Kirkcudbright and are extremely favourably situated for the production of high classed cheese. They have the advantage of carrying large herds of cows. The pasture is early and of a sweet description, and instead of there being dairy women the actual making is mostly entrusted to men. In many cases the Cheddar method has been carried to such perfection that the cheese is fit to be placed upon the London market, and when exhibited at the annual leading show at Kilmarnock, the Galloway cheeses have almost invariably taken the first rank. Those manufactured in Ayrshire appear to take longer to ripen, and it is not likely that they will ever be able to compete with the best class of Galloway manufacture, owing to the various local advantages which the latter possess. For the credit of Ayrshire it may be stated, however, that a large proportion of those who have most distinguished themselves in Galloway in this department, were originally trained in Ayrshire, and have imported their skill from the one county into the other. It is no discredit to the great bulk of Ayrshire farmers to be unable to compete successfully with their Galloway brethren, and it says not a little in their favour that the best class among

them are often able to press them very close. It may be remarked that it is year by year becoming of the utmost importance to endeavour to produce a first class article, as even in bad times it commands a ready sale, and is not subject to the same competition from foreign import. The difference in value between the two classes, that is, between first class and moderate cheese, may be stated at present at at least 8s. per cwt., representing about 30s. for each cow kept on the farm.

Within the last year or two a considerable effort has been made among the landlords and tenants in the South-west of Scotland, by means of the formation of a Dairy Association, to improve the manufacture of cheese. This Association was formed in the year 1884; and it is not a little singular that in order to obtain the best possible instruction and advice, the Association had to have recourse to America. Arrangements were made by which first of all Mr. Harris and afterwards Mr. Drummond were brought from that continent to afford instruction throughout the district, and this system is still being continually developed. These instructors, although meeting with their own difficulties, and being probably, like many other instructors, too full of the merits of their own system, have unquestionably done a great deal of good. They have insisted upon the most careful attention in the manufacture, the provision of thorough water supplies, the observation of the most scrupulous cleanliness, and the introduction of the best class of houses both for making and keeping the article. Farmers in general have shown the greatest desire to avail themselves of the opportunities of instruction and development thus offered to them, and in a good many cases the result has been very satisfactory. It has quite recently been determined to establish dairy schools throughout the district, from which, also, it is hoped much benefit will be derived. These dairy schools are to be placed on different farms, and if properly taken advantage of, they are certain to promote and stimulate the manufacture of the best classes of dairy produce. It is too early to speak of their success, but it may confidently be predicted.

It may be interesting in connection with this subject to give here a statement of the average price of cheese which has been obtained in Ayrshire for the last 38 years. The average is taken

from the smaller and more representative classes of dairies, and does not include the best class, the object being to give the fair average price available in ordinary circumstances:—

Year.	Price per Lb.	Price per Ayrshire stone of 24 lbs.	Price per Cwt.
	D.	s. D.	£ s. D.
1848	4	8 0	1 17 4
1849	3½	7 10	1 16 6½
1850	3½	7 10	1 16 6½
1851	3½	7 5	1 14 7½
1852	3½	7 6	1 15 0
1853	5½	10 10	2 10 6½
1854	4½	9 9	2 5 6
1855	5½	11 4	2 12 10½
1856	6½	12 4	2 17 6½
1857	5½	11 5	2 13 3½
1858	5½	10 3	2 7 10
1859	6½	12 3	2 17 2
1860	6½	12 7	2 18 8½
1861	5½	10 6	2 9 0
1862	5½	10 6	2 9 0
1863	5½	11 9	2 14 10
1864	6½	12 1	2 16 4½
1865	6½	12 11	3 0 3½
1866	7½	14 4	3 6 10½
1867	5½	10 10	2 10 6½
1868	6	12 0	2 16 0
1869	7½	14 2	3 6 1½
1870	6½	12 11	3 0 3½
1871	6½	12 3	2 17 2
1872	6½	13 6	3 3 0
1873	7½	15 1	3 10 4½
1874	7½	14 6	3 7 8
1875	6½	13 0	3 0 8
1876	5½	11 4	2 12 10½
1877	7½	14 7	3 8 0½
1878	5½	11 1	2 11 8½
1879	5½	10 2	2 7 5½
1880	7½	14 2	3 6 1½
1881	6½	13 4	3 2 2½
1882	6½	13 0	3 0 8
1883	6½	13 3	3 1 10
1884	6½	12 5	2 17 11½
1885	4½	9 9	2 5 6
1886	5	10 0	2 6 8

The average produce per cow on farms of the class we are at present dealing with, may be stated at about 15 stones each. The quantity produced has a tendency to rise, which cannot be ascribed altogether to the climate or farm, as farmers are now much more liberal in the use of home-feeding than they were at one time. It is scarcely necessary to say that the Ayrshire breed of cows is that almost universally employed all over the district. Much attention has been given for many years to improving the breed, and no class of animal could be better fitted for use throughout the district. They thrive wonderfully well even upon upland pastures, and yield a large quantity of milk, sometimes it must be confessed of rather thin quality. Where the milk is to be sold or turned into cheese, they are undoubtedly the best breed. They are not so well fitted for the production of butter, and it may be here mentioned, as an interesting experiment, that when recently a good Ayrshire cow was tested against a fair Jersey—both animals being kept upon the same feeding—the Ayrshire cow gave in the course of a week 24 gallons of milk which, on being churned, produced 7 lbs. of butter, while the Jersey cow gave 20 gallons of milk which, on being churned, produced fully 13 lbs. of butter. The result, so far as butter is concerned, was very much in favour of the Jersey cow; but it need scarcely be said that it is a delicate class of animal, not fitted for the ordinary dairy farmer in this country.

II.—STOCK FARMS.

It is probably unnecessary to enter minutely into any account of this class of farms, as they are in no respect peculiar to the district of Scotland which is the subject of this article, except in so far as part of Ayrshire has become celebrated for the breed of black faced sheep. There are a great many excellent stock farms both in the same county and in other parts of the district, but it is much to be regretted that the men who occupy this class of farms, after enjoying a period of unexampled prosperity, have of late years been subjected to severe suffering, and perhaps the present year, following upon a winter of unexampled severity, will be actually the worst that has been experienced during the present

generation. The fluctuations in value to which this class of farms has been exposed, have been very violent, and it is feared it may be a considerable time before matters settle down in a proper and satisfactory groove. The introduction of sheep of good class is of comparatively recent date. At the commencement of the century the most of the land now under sheep was probably occupied by black cattle, and men are still alive who were accustomed to drive their stock annually to Barnet Fair, near London, a journey made on horseback, and occupying several weeks. It is singular to reflect that comparatively few years have elapsed since the same system was carried on in Scotland for the disposal of stock as exists at present among the backwoodsmen of Australia. Wool, always an available staple, has been subject to really extraordinary fluctuations; and the writer may be allowed here to quote from an agricultural paper an interesting notice in which the history of the chief of them is given:—

'A century ago the value of good average lustre wool was almost exactly 14s. 6d. per tod * and the value appears to have gone on increasing until 1791 when 20s. per tod was reached. Prices subsequently fluctuated very much, and a backward movement reduced prices to 16s. 6d. per tod in 1797 as against 20s. per tod in 1792. Several rises and falls took place in succeeding years until 1802, when an upward bound brought values to 31s. per tod which must at that time have seemed a very excessive price. Prices again fell, but a revival taking place rates were maintained from 28s. to 33s. per tod up to 1813, and in 1814 a sudden bound took place and values rose to 44s., in 1815 to 50s. a remarkably high bound. The relapse came no less suddenly for in 1816 32s. per tod represented the value of good grown wool. After these fluctuations a period of calm attended the prices of wool, and from this time up to 1832 the value was little altered, the range being from 28s. to 32s., but in the autumn of 1834 wool jumped up suddenly to 46s. per tod and the value remained above 40s. for a considerable time, but in 1843 a great drop took place and only 25s. 6d. could be got for excellent wool. The next three years brought up the level of prices to between 30s. and 32s. per tod, but during the years 1847 and 1848, a fall brought rates to 27s. While in 1849 the extraordinary low limit of 22s. per tod was reached. Next year 26s. was secured, and in the year after that, (1851) the price was 30s.; in 1863 an upward movement brought prices to 52s.; and in 1864 the rates touched 65s. per tod, being the highest price reached

* A tod of wool is 28 lbs.

in the century for wool. The succeeding year brought back values to 59s. per tod ; and in 1866 they had fallen to 43s. 6d. ; and the fluctuations were but little marked until 1870, when there was a sudden drop to 36s. Next year figures were 47s per tod, and the year after that, 1872, 58s. From that time the history of the wool market has been in the main on a gradual decline. There was it is true a rise of 7s. per tod, in 1879 to 1880 namely from 27s. to 34s. per tod, but in 1881 26s. represented the value of fine grown English wool, 1882 showed only 24s. per tod, and 1883 again brought the level of prices to the remarkably low figure of 22s. per tod, the lowest point recorded since 1849 and with the exception of that single depression which lasted only for one year the most remarkable decline in values which has been experienced in the present century.'

These excessive fluctuations in value are really startling, but it is to be feared that a very low price has now been permanently established. In the present year there has been a substantial increase in the price of fine classed wool, but the farmers who have only black faced wool to sell, have experienced little benefit, the ordinary price still remaining at the very low figure of 5½d per lb. In addition to the low prices thus obtainable, the hill farmer is now suffering from a very low market value for his sheep. During the good times of ten or fifteen years ago the prices of all kinds of sheep ruled extremely high, but these are now sunk to less than half their former value. As an instance shewing more forcibly than anything else the fluctuations in the value of this class of property, there may be here mentioned the case of a good grass farm in the upper part of Ayrshire familiar to the writer. The farm in question was let about the year 1858 at £600, and was considerably improved both by proprietor and tenant at the beginning of the lease. When the lease was about to expire, in 1874, the farm was let to a well known agriculturalist in the district at the rent of £1280. The alterations in times and values proved, however, too much for him, and three years ago the farm had occasion to be let again, when the rent became £830. Owing to the death of the tenant who then entered upon occupation, the farm has now been let again, but at the rent of £620, or about the same amount as it fetched 30 years ago. It is feared that this is merely an instance of what may be experienced in a large number of similar possessions, and taken in conjunction with the violent fluctuations above shown in the price of wool, may serve

as a lesson showing the necessity for caution in the renting of such land. It is within the writer's knowledge that great fluctuations of the same kind have been recently experienced in Galloway and Dumfriesshire. He may note a single farm as an instance which in 1874 rose from £80 to £200 in rent, and has now gone back to £80 again. These vicissitudes are far from agreeable to landlords, but it is to be feared there is no help for them. The lesson really taught by them is to make a strong effort to keep to a just medium in values and rents.

III.—ARABLE FARMS.

As already mentioned the arable farms of the district are now practicably confined to the best class of land situated either upon the coast or in exceptionally favourable localities. In nearly every case the keeping of a dairy is combined with arable cultivation, but it cannot be said that there is any peculiarity in the cultivation practised in the district, excepting in regard to the early potato culture. That culture is peculiar to a part of Renfrewshire and Ayrshire; and it may be interesting to give some account of the method adopted by the best agriculturalists in the district. The following account has obtained by the writer from a practical agriculturalist, and is here given for the information of those who may be interested in the subject. The opinion of the agriculturalist in question is that the best white early potato is what is called 'Dons.' The earliest potato he has grown is 'Beauty of Hebron,' a salmon coloured potato, but which owing to its colour does not take so well in the market. There is another heavy cropping early potato named 'Gooderich,' but it is not considered to be very certain. So much with regard to the kind of seed used. In order to give the potato every chance to be ready for the earliest markets, the seed is started in boxes 30 inches long, 21 inches wide, and 3 inches deep, with corner posts 6 inches long having a rail across. The rails across the top of the corner posts act as handles to the boxes when they are placed one over another. The boxes have a free circulation of air through them. The manner of boxing is as follows. The 'seconds' or 'middlings' of the kind selected are dressed over

an inch and a quarter riddle and if ripe are put into the boxes when dug, say in September or October. If the seconds of the early grown ones are taken, they are put into thin pits and covered with straw, to allow them to ripen, and are then put into boxes, say in September. The boxes are filled with the potatoes only, and are put on the top of one another in a place where there is no danger of frosts, and where they may have a little heat if necessary in winter. As a rule there is more difficulty in keeping back the shoots than otherwise, and if the potatoes are kept moderately warm and sprung about half or three quarters of an inch about 1st February, and then put into a cool place to harden before being planted, they are all the better. With regard to the manures used, dung or seaweed is generally applied on the top and ploughed in with a thin furrow in the back end, and if on lea (which is always preferable for growing early potatoes) it is better to be put on as early as possible to wash into the grass. It is considered scarcely practicable to grow potatoes on lea for any length of time without heavy manure unless a great deal of feeding stuff is consumed on the grass. Generally speaking, where land is used principally for growing potatoes, it is two years potatoes, dung if possible being applied in one of the two years, and two years grass, sown out after potatoes. As to planting, with boxed potatoes this should not be done too early, say the second week of March. The drills ought to be made twenty-six inches wide, as it is important that potatoes for early use should be planted in shallow drills and covered deep after planting. In this way a week of difference in raising may be made. The boxes with potatoes are taken to the field and planted out, two planters taking one box. Peruvian guano of good quality is the best manure for early potatoes, but it cannot always be relied upon. Latterly a compound manure made up of phosphatic guano along with sulphate of ammonia and sulphate of potash, has been found the most beneficial. This is applied at the rate of eight to twelve cwts. per imperial acre according to the quantity of heavy manure applied, and costs at present about £9 per ton. The great object of course is to have the crop as early as possible in the market, and if this can be managed a good price is obtainable even at present, such as £30 per acre.

The above mode of cultivation is available only over a very limited area and cannot be described as applicable to arable farms in general. As already mentioned it is in Ayrshire an industry of importance and tends to keep up the value of good land suitable for that class of culture. On the whole, such farms will probably maintain their value fairly well. They have undoubtedly within the last ten years or so somewhat decreased in value but such decrease may be fairly stated at not more than ten per cent.

It seems unnecessary to say much as to the causes of the present depression which, as has been shown, exists more in connection with stock farms than in the ordinary class of farms in the district. The smaller farms have proved the mainstay of agriculture, and although the condition of the agriculturists who manage them cannot be described as prosperous, it is at least fair. The fluctuations in value of such farms have not been severe. In a great number of cases particularly upon large estates, the rents have not varied much for the last generation, and on the whole, taking into account the large expenditure on improvements made by many proprietors, they are probably not higher now than they were thirty or forty years ago. The great inflation in value of stock farms appears for the present to have come to an end with but little prospect of a change for the proprietor. It is believed, however, that even in respect to this class of farms a better feeling will shortly prevail, and that matters will so arrange themselves that proprietors will receive a steady rent, and tenants be fairly thriving, though without much chance of making fortunes. The occupation of the farmer, though of great interest and popularity, will probably never be a very profitable one. Hitherto the farmer has experienced, and, it is to be hoped, will continue to experience whenever times require it, much consideration from his landlord. It is to be hoped, also, that the good feeling which exists between landlord and tenant will never be severed. It is best for both to look forward to the future in humble confidence that what has been will be, and that fairly prosperous times will again set in.

CHAS. G. SHAW.

ART. II.—ON INLAND TRANSPORT.

IT has been said that there is no greater national benefactor than the man who makes two blades of corn grow where one grew before. It is not, indeed, easy to fix a limit to the power of human industry, when wisely employed as the handmaid of nature. Soil and climate are usually regarded as the chief determinants of the vegetable produce of a country. But in the selection of the crops best suited to a given soil and climate lies much of the secret of agricultural prosperity. And climate can be ameliorated, and soil actually created, by the care of man. The Italian peasant toils up a steep hill-side, carrying in a basket or in a bit of sacking the few shovel-fulls of earth which are all that are necessary for the roots of the olive; and thus makes the bare rock yield, not water, but oil. It has been the custom of those who have done so much to establish the reign of beggary in Ireland to lay the blame of the small returns now obtained from the soil of that most fertile island on the climate. In 1812 Mr. Wakefield told a very different story. The result of his careful enquiry, together with those of Sir Robert Kane, of Professor Low, of Professor Johnstone, and of M. Moreau de Jonnes, is to the effect that the natural fertility of Ireland exceeds that of England by at least 10 per cent. Wheat has yielded, in Waterford, 4,200lbs. per acre; potatoes, at Athboy, in Meath, 72,100lbs. per acre; and along the shores of the Shannon, the flax crop, which under proper culture rather enriches than impoverishes the soil, enabled the farmer—before the era of the Land Law—to realise from £25 to £30 per acre. These recorded rates of produce compare very favourably with the 32 bushels of wheat which the Belgian farmer raised on the average from an acre of his carefully tilled soil in 1882: not to mention the miserable Russian return, in 1883, of only 5½ bushels per acre.

But whatever man does to multiply the yield of corn and oil, and to aid nature in the bestowal of her bounties, a certain proportion of his industry must always be devoted to the distribution of the produce of the soil. With every step in that geo-

metrically increasing growth of population which forms the great solvent of all ancient institutions, the need for giving special attention to distribution increases. In farms of small extent, and in the case of what is called on the continent *la petite culture*, the area of land required for roads and communications is said to be as much as one fifth of that actually under crops. In some of the terrible famines that have devastated large provinces of India within the last half century, corn has rotted on the ground in some districts, for want of the means of transport, while within 100 or 200 miles distance the people have been actually starving. Thus while the carrier, or distributor of produce, comes into the field later than the agriculturist in point of time, his services are none the less necessary for the support of human life. Without the farmer, of course, there would be nothing for the carrier to transport; but without the carrier the produce of the farmer has but a local and restricted value.

We know comparatively little of the modes of transport anciently in use in countries where population became as dense as was occasionally the case. Imperial Rome was fed with corn from that rich Egyptian soil which a vacillating policy has watered with so much blood, with the natural result of reaping a harvest of famine. We have occasional complaints of the inadequacy of the Tiber as a channel of access to Rome for the African transports. There are reasons, both of a geological and of an engineering character, for the conjecture that the site of Rome has sensibly subsided since the foundation of the city; so that the current of the river below the Ripetta was formerly more rapid than at present. But although the Roman never rose to much excellence as a navigator, wherever his eagles flew he has left his record as a road maker. The Via Appia, built of solid blocks of lava some two feet square, although no longer the line of communication between Rome and Puteoli, is in many parts of its course in as substantial repair at this moment, as it could have been when St. Paul was met in his journey over it by his friends at Appii Forum.

In the provinces, the Roman roads formed an essential feature of a great system of organised conquest. The comprehensive plan of the Roman roads in Britain contrasts very forcibly with the

haphazard manner in which the web of railway communication has been spun during the last half century. It may indeed be said with truth that Stephenson followed in the track of Telford, and that the canals and roads made by Telford owed their position to the physical features of the country, as marked by the river courses. But if the plan of first selecting the main centres which were to be linked by roads of iron, and then laying down the most direct feasible lines between these centres, had been adopted in Britain (as it was by Sir John Burgoyne in Ireland), a very large amount of unnecessary expenditure would have been saved on the English railways. Such was the Roman method. Their rulers selected, with admirable skill, the points that commanded the strategic occupation of the country, and ran roads—for the most part as straight as arrows—from post to post. From London, thus early indicated as the metropolis, radiated direct roads to Sandwich, to Colchester, to Harwich, to Shrewsbury, and to Bath. The Great Eastern and Western Road that ran through and united the valleys of the Thames and of the Avon was prolonged, after crossing the Severn, along the Welsh coast to Caermarthen, on the Towy. Three great parallel lines of road ran in a north-easterly and south-westerly direction across the country. Of these the westernmost connected Newport, Shrewsbury, Chester, York, and Pretorium, near Flamborough Head. From Chester a line ran to Segontium, on the Menai Straits; from Manchester there was a road to Carlisle, and the estuary of the Solway; a road ran from York to Hexham; Exeter, Dorchester, Salisbury, Winchester, and the sheltered waters about Portsmouth, were linked by another great route. In a word the principal lines of march were laid down with a thorough strategic knowledge of the country; and the permanent service of military supplies, as well as of military communications, was provided for by the substantial public works which subserved the later developments of commerce. Very rarely, and only to turn some physical obstacles, or (in one instance, that of Silbury Hill) apparently to avoid the desecration of a sacred site, did the roads from post to post deviate from the straight line; and the substantial mode of workmanship employed was such as to render these noble ways available for transport at all seasons of the year.

We have but little light as to the methods and the dates by and at which the inter-communications of this great military skeleton were filled in. But there is no doubt that, at the close of the eighteenth century, the roads throughout England were in a condition every way inferior to that in which the Romans left those of them which they had constructed or repaired. Our annals are full of stories of the perils and delays that beset the travellers in Britain when the House of Hanover mounted the throne; and so late as the close of the great struggle with Napoleon Buonaparte—we have it on the personal authority of Sir James Macadam—the guard of the Royal Mail, if he saw a waggon a-head, had to blow his horn ‘to make the wagon get out of *his* rut.’

To Mr. Macadam, the father of Sir James, is due the common sense invention that led to the perfection which the English roads had in some parts attained by 1830 or thereabouts. Coming to Bristol from Scotland, Mr. Macadam became a local magistrate and a commissioner of the turnpike roads; and found opportunity of introducing in his district the method on which he had satisfactorily experimented in Scotland. His theory was, that it was waste of labour to build a road, or to base it on rude stonework. The earth, in any event, had to carry the traffic; and if it could only be kept dry the less weight thrown upon it the better. The aim of the new method, therefore, was to provide a hard covering for the roadway track, that should be impervious to water and to turn off the rain that fell on the surface into lateral ditches; and the best material for constructing what came to be called by the expressive name of ‘road metal’ was found to be small portions of hard stone, broken so as to offer facets and angles which, under the wheels of the vehicles using the road, became consolidated into a sort of mortarless concrete. The only substantial improvement that has been introduced on the plan of Mr. Macadam has been to consolidate a newly made road, as soon as laid, by a heavy roller, instead of committing this duty to the vehicles, which naturally shun those parts of the road where their grinding and consolidating action is most required.

How far the excellent *breccia* roads of Italy may claim precedence of the invention of Macadam is not quite clear. Along the coast of the Adriatic, from Foggia to Brindisi, runs a mag-

nificent highway, which might readily be mistaken for an English road. One or two mile stones, of the very shape and size once familiar on our own roads, but as old as imperial times, enable the student to identify the present road as that over part of which Horace travelled, in his memorable journey to Brindisi. But the admirable quality of the stone with which the district abounds, a stone which has taught every country mason to become a sculptor, may have had much to do with the method of road making. The excellent gravel that is found in some parts of our own chalk districts, as for instance from Watford to Tring, must have been formed into carriage drives long before our date. And the hard and easily shivered serpentine which forms the nucleus of the Lickey Hill, between Worcester and Birmingham, naturally makes such excellent road metal on the Macadam plan, that it is difficult to conjecture that it could have been applied to road making in any other manner.

However that may be, of the originality of Macadam's method there is no room for doubt. Shortly after he had induced his brother magistrates to leave to him the management of the roads, it chanced that the Postmaster-General, looking over the time bill for the then ensuing winter for the Bristol mail, observed that no extra time was allowed for the stage into, or out of, Bristol. Calling for an explanation of an anomaly which he naturally thought was a mistake, (as the summer and winter time bills materially differed about the year 1815), his lordship was informed that over this particular bit of road the mails ran at the same pace in summer and in winter. The Postmaster-General said no more, but ordered his carriage, posted to Bristol, and walked over the line in question. He returned with the like silence to London, and summoned the Bristol magistrate to an interview. 'I have sent for you, Mr. Macadam,' he said, 'because I want to make you superintendent of all our mail roads;' and, after some demur, Mr. Macadam, calling his sons to his aid, undertook the duty.

By the smooth hard surface given by Macadam to the roads, together with the improvements made in carriage springs, and in the build of mail coaches and other vehicles, and by the care bestowed on the breeding and keeping of horses that united

strength and speed of action, road travelling in England was brought to a state of perfection that reached its acme about 1830. In 1835 the night and day Devon and Cornwall mails, known as the Quick-silver mails, maintained a speed, one of 10, and the other of 11 miles per hour, changes and stoppages included, over a sharply accentuated country. Over the more level parts of their course, the Shrewsbury and Cheltenham coaches, the *Hirondelle* and the *Hibernia*, and the Shrewsbury and London coach, the *Wonder*, made a steady running of sixteen miles an hour. Such, fifty years ago, was the contest for the blue ribbon of the road.

Such speed, of course, was reserved for passenger travelling. Goods vans and waggons enjoyed the benefit of the excellent roads made for the mails. But the chief inland transport of heavy goods, for considerable distances, half a century ago, was by water. It was in 1750 that the Duke of Bridgewater engaged Brindley to design and construct the inland waterway that yet bears the name of the Bridgewater Canal; a noble monument, at once of the courage, perseverance, and insight into the future of the Duke, and of the inventive and practical genius of the engineer. At the present day, 127 years after its commencement, although improved in some details (the Barton aqueduct has twice been widened), the Bridgewater Canal may be taken as a model work, and exists on the lines laid down by Brindley. It is characterized by the two bold and noble features of a rapid ascent from the waters of the Mersey at Runcorn by a chain of 10 locks, known as Neptune's staircase, (which is now doubled); and of a long stretch of unbroken level from the summit thus attained to Manchester.

The high state of excellence to which travelling on the ordinary road was brought by 1830 led to the attempt to unite the speed at which the horse can draw a moderate load with the smoothness of water carriage, and the great economy secured by the absence of road and vehicle friction on a canal. Experiments were made by Sir W. Fairbairn for the proprietors of the Forth and Clyde Canal which gave the result, then regarded as a complete anomaly, that the tractive force exhausted was 10 per cent. less at ten than at eight miles an hour. The reason of this

apparent anomaly is now known, and the value of depth as an element of diminution of resistance to navigation has been shown in theory, and amply illustrated by practice. But the projectors of the Suez Canal, and of certain much needed links in the inland water ways of this country and of France, have as yet failed to derive the advantages which are rendered possible by the discovery.

In fact, the great revolution in our means of transport, which is due to the development of the locomotive, turned attention for a while from the cheaper and more capacious appliances of water transit to the rapid service effected on the railway. It was in the year 1767 that the Colebrook Dale Iron Company first projected the wooden rails (the use of which for diminishing road friction is as old as the Assyrian Empire) with iron. The rails for this purpose were cast in lengths of five feet, being four inches wide, and one and a half inches thick, pierced with three holes, through which they were fastened to the oak rails on which they lay. A subsequent improvement was to cast the rails with a flange (or in the shape, in cross section, of a capital L), in order to keep the wheels from leaving them. Stone blocks were, in many cases, substituted for wooden rails as supports. The gauge, or width between the flanges (which were on the inner side of the rails), was from two and a half to three feet, and the wagons employed had narrow cast-iron wheels, and no springs. In 1838, the greater part of the coal consumed at Cheltenham was brought over a tramway of this description from the Forest of Dean.

The substitution of wrought for cast-iron rails, and the removal of the flange from the rail to the wheels, were the next important improvements. The increase of traffic between Liverpool and Manchester led, in 1825, to the construction of a railway between these two important towns; and the question of the best mode of traction, whether horse-power, stationary engine-power, or locomotive engine-power, then came forward for solution. A prize was offered by the directors of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway for the best locomotive; and the trials between the engines sent in for competition at Rainhill, in 1829, were the throes of the birth of the railway system. In the course of certain repairs and alterations made by Mr. Stephenson after

the first day's running, the efficacy of the blast, which had indeed been before advocated by Mr. Gurney, became unexpectedly apparent, and the limit of speed was thenceforth no longer to be fixed by the power of propulsion, but only by the degree of safety afforded by the flange, and by the resistance of the atmosphere.

As soon as it became clear that a speed of twenty to thirty miles an hour, or even more, could be certainly and economically commanded by the locomotive, the public rushed forward to take a share in the fruits of this unprecedented physical revolution. Parliament and the Government alike neglected the duty of laying down lines for the direction of the new enterprise, so as to ensure the best service for the public; a neglect in which the Administration of the United Kingdom presented a disastrous contrast to the foresight of Continental statesmen, and for which we are now heavily suffering. It became evident that the passenger traffic, from which little or nothing was at first anticipated, would form the most lucrative part of the business of the railways. But railways were made, not where the advantage of the general system of internal communication should have prescribed, but wherever a company could be got up, and an Act of Parliament obtained. In 1845, projects for 20,687 miles of railway, requiring a capital of £350,000,000, were brought before Parliament; and Acts of Parliament for 3,573 miles, with a capital of £130,000,000, received the Royal assent. Many of these lines were competitive, or in duplicate; and the waste of capital involved by the Parliamentary system (or no system) of authorising these public works has been estimated at a third of the total outlay. The want of statesmanship that sanctioned this profuse and ill-balanced expenditure has formed a permanent feature of the management of the English railways ever since. At the present time, while the railways of Continental Europe range in cost from £20,000 to £26,000 per mile, those of the United Kingdom have cost £42,560, and those of England and Wales £47,700 per mile of line.

It has thus come to pass that in England, the cradle of improved locomotion, both by land and by water, the cheapest mode of transport has been handed over to the tender mercies of its natural enemies, and the most rapid and costly mode has been so

hastily adopted, without due regard for its commercial features, that millions are each year added to the capital of our railways without in any way improving their financial position. Although from 1854 to the present time the mileage traffic of the English railways has increased by 40 per cent., the net per centage on capital is substantially unchanged. But from 1841 to the present date the net earnings on capital on the great French railways have increased by 70 per cent., rising from 3.11 to 5.56 per cent. on capital—the English returns remaining stationary at $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

The cause of this grave defect in the outcome of the English railway system is the fact that the lines were laid down, and have ever since been worked, rather as private trading enterprises than as component parts of a well-ordered system of national service. In France the need of water communication, as auxiliary to the economical working of the railway, was insisted on at the date of the earliest railway concessions, and has lately been the object of renewed attention, and of a very large national expenditure. In England it seems to have been taken for granted that the capacity of a railway for transport was equal to that of a canal, which is far from being the case, although the speed attainable is so much higher. But there has been no attempt made to determine what that capacity is; nor has all the light that the experience of fifty years has thrown on the subject of the narrow limit of the capacity of a pair of tracks yet induced the proprietors of our railways to insist on the reduction to figures of this very A B C of the prosperity of their property.

The observer who watches, from some commanding point of view, the movement over the landscape of the silvery columns of steam that denote the passage of the locomotive, or who views more closely the rush of a train of twenty or thirty carriages at the speed of a race horse, may naturally regard the capacity for traffic of the iron road as practically unlimited. On one condition, indeed, the capacity is considerable, although it hardly amounts to a tenth part of that of a good canal. But if all the trains, on each track, run at the same speed, and stop at the same intervals, they may follow each other so closely, that the limit to the duty to be performed is set rather by the feasibility of collecting and discharging the loads at the termini, than by

the exigencies of the road itself. It is thus possible to convey a greater number of passenger trains, of which the freight loads and unloads itself, than of any kind of merchandise.

The heaviest useful weight that is any where moved over a roadway in a continuous stream of traffic, is that of a column of infantry. Neither cavalry nor artillery is so compact. A column of 4 in a rank, with ranks 5 feet centre to centre, moving at the rate of 88 yards per minute, is equal to a movement of 20 tons per minute at this speed. If this be continued for ten hours per day, and for 330 days in the year, it is equal to an annual duty of nearly 4,000,000 tons.

On the Metropolitan Railway, the gross weight of the loaded trains moved (not including the weight of the engines), has been calculated at three times the above, or rather more than 12,000,000 tons per year. But of this, less than 700,000 tons is net or paying weight; the tare of the passenger carriages being very high. Again, this includes the double duty of the up and down lines of way, so that the useful effect is only one-tenth that of the marching column; the speed, from terminus to terminus, being from four to five times as great.

Without saying that the above is the greatest possible traffic for which a double railway can afford passage, the duty performed on the Metropolitan line is by far the heaviest in the world. And the co-efficient of working cost, or fraction of the gross income that is consumed in working expenses, is lower on this line than on any other in England; being about the same per centage that prevailed on the Great Western Railway before the cost of working was increased by undertaking the non-remunerative mineral traffic.

This rapid succession of trains, however, can only occur under exceptional circumstances. The Metropolitan Railway forms a main line of the internal traffic of the largest and richest city in the world, to provide accommodation for which has cost so enormous a sum—viz., £639,000 per mile—that heavy traffic and light working cost (in proportion) barely earn a net five per cent. on capital. The ordinary duty of an average English railway is only about one-sixth of the amount of the work done on the Metropolitan Railway. That of a French railway is something less than one-sixth.

The largest amount of duty performed on any line of mixed traffic in England is under 4,600,000 tons of loaded train per mile in the year. But this heavy traffic (which occurs on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway) has required so large an outlay of capital to provide for its accommodation, that only five per cent. net income on capital is earned by the trains. A heavier duty is performed on the Taff Vale Railway; but this was laid out as a mineral line, and is worked substantially at a single rate of speed. The capital cost is thus low, and the returns are excellent; as is also the case on the mineral railway from Maryport to Carlisle.

It thus appears that there are two limits to the earning capacity of a railway. One is the physical limit of the amount of loaded train that can be sent over a pair of rails in a given time, regard being paid to the power of loading and unloading. The other is the limit of the net return on capital, which is dependant on the three elements of capital cost per mile, rate of freight and of fare, and co-efficient of working cost. On the English railways, the cost per mile is the highest in the world. The freights and fares are also unusually high, and the co-efficient of working cost is increased from 40 to 52 per cent., by the mixed mode of carrying on the traffic. Thus the French railways, with charges 15 per cent. lower than the English, pay their proprietors 30 per cent. more income on their capital.

The false economy of the attempt to make one pair of tracks serve for the conveyance of a fast passenger and a slow mineral traffic is capable of proof by comparing the annual earnings either of the locomotives, regarded as the true bread-winners, or of the servants of the railway companies. Thus in France, the gross earning of every locomotive averages £6,069 per annum. In England it only averages £4,385. Amongst English engines, again, a locomotive on the Metropolitan Railway earns £12,176 in a year; while a passenger engine on the London and North-Western Railway, with its mixed traffic, earns £9555. On this great line, on the other hand, the non-passenger locomotives earn only £3,504 each in the year; and if the company were to distinguish the earnings of the goods and of the mineral loco-

motives, those of the latter would be found to be comparatively very small.

If instead of comparing the gross annual earnings per locomotive, we compare those of the servants of the railway companies, we have similar results. On lines worked homogeneously, or at a single speed, whether they carry passengers or minerals, each servant of the company may earn from £350 to £400 per annum. On the Metropolitan Railway in 1883, every person employed earned £395; on the Maryport and Carlisle each person earned £312. On the eight principal trunk lines of mixed traffic, on the other hand, in the same year, each person employed earned on the average only £185; the lowest rate, £170, being on the Midland. On these lines three classes of traffic are run, at three different speeds, so that in spite of the greatest care and skill in the interspacing of the trains, a maximum loss of time is incurred in the useful occupation of the lines, which have to be trebled or quadrupled in the busiest parts of their course. The railways which confine themselves mainly to two kinds of traffic show an intermediate power of earning. On the London and Brighton, the South Eastern, and the London, Chatham and Dover lines, each servant of the company earns on an average £243 per annum.

That the constant inflation of capital, which eats up all the increase of profit from the rapidly increasing traffic of the English railways, is due to the ill-judged policy of grasping at all freight that can be gained, without establishing any debtor and creditor account of the loss and earning of the different kinds of traffic, is illustrated by a comparison with the French Railways. At the close of 1863 the average cost of a mile of railway was £32,000 in the United Kingdom, and £32,400 in France. The cost of the former has steadily increased, while that of the latter has diminished, since that date; and in 1881, when the cost of each mile of conceded railway of general interest in France had been reduced to £28,773, that of each mile in the United Kingdom had risen to £42,017.

In 1877 the gross revenue of the six great French systems of railways averaged £2,887 per mile. In the same year the gross revenue of the English railways averaged £2,881 for passengers and

goods, to which has to be added £805 for minerals. If this latter traffic earned a net profit of 10 per cent., which is very improbable, we should still find a capital outlay of £14,000 per mile incurred in order to obtain a net income of £80 per mile.

Three main principles of financial success have been established by the traffic experience of the last half century. They are plain and simple, and might have been anticipated—as was the case in one instance, by the genius of Mr. Brunel—on mathematical grounds. They can only be neglected at the cost, not only of the railway proprietors, but of the country.

Of these, the first is, that the cost of traction, and to a great degree the whole cost of transport, diminishes as the unit of despatch increases. In accordance with this rule, we have seen a steady increase in the size of our ships, and in the length and weight of our railway trains. The vessels that passed through the Suez Canal in 1883 averaged two and a half times the tonnage of those that passed in 1870. On the London and North Western Railway the cost of traction per ton of loaded train is now one fourth of that which was carefully ascertained in 1840; the weight of the trains being now four times what it then was. Two horses draw fourteen people or more in a London omnibus, where sixty years ago two horses were required to draw the lumbering hackney coach that was the only available public vehicle for even a single fare. On the Aire and Calder Canal the mineral train boats introduced by Mr. Bartholemew have reduced the mileage cost of inland transport to that of a long sea passage. The shipowners are becoming so fully aware of the economy to be secured by the use of large vessels, that docks have been opened 24 miles down the Thames, on the view that the saving to be effected in ocean transport by the use of giant vessels will pay for the additional railway carriage incurred in order to avoid the higher and shallower waters of the river.

The second great principle in question is, that the economy of speed, by any given method of transport, depends on the proportionate amount of mechanical power, and of human or animal labour, employed in the transport effected. For direct traction, indeed, the limit of the speed attainable by horse power is well known; but even at the low speed to which navigation is limited

on the canals of Holland and Belgium, steam power is 40 per cent. cheaper than horse power. But with the locomotive and the fast steamboat, the practical limit to speed is the resistance of the atmosphere, and that of the water, which increase with the speed in known proportions. The cost of this increase is measured by the additional consumption of coal. But together with the increase of cost thus occasioned, and thus ascertainable, has to be borne in mind the saving of money spent in wages that attends on increased speed—that is to say, on the occupation of less time. A balance between these two elements of cost may be easily obtained by arithmetic or by graphic delineation. On the English railways the cheapest speed at which to run is about thirty miles per hour—increasing with any departure from that rate in either way, and being equal at fifteen, and at fifty, miles per hour. This, however, is the terminus to terminus rate, for the cost is sensibly increased by every additional stoppage.

Thus the problem of the economy of speed in transport involves two distinct questions. One is, what is the cost and what the value of a given increase of speed either by land or by water carriage. The other is, what is it worth the while of the freighter to pay for difference of speed. These questions are now, to some extent, in the course of being threshed out. But a necessary element of the satisfactory solution of the entire problem is, that the freighters should have the free choice of the means of transport, and should not be compelled to pay for the higher speed attainable by rail by the exertion of any interference with the service of the canals.

The third condition of the most economical method of transport is to prevent the loss of net earning which is caused by the introduction of different rates of running speed on the same line of rails. Connected intimately with this, is the necessity of keeping distinct debtor and creditor accounts for each of the three main divisions of railway transport. On the New South Wales Railway, perhaps alone amongst English lines, the net and the gross earnings of each description of merchandise are accurately known. Even in such a case as that of the conduct of fast and slow traffic, by coach and by waggon, on the highways, such a mode of book-keeping has

always been regarded as essential. Much more is this the case on a railway. Over a length of ten miles of track 6 trains may be despatched per hour, if they run at the same speed, whether of 15 or of 30 miles per hour. But if the trains are speeded alternately at 15 and at 30 miles per hour, it will be unsafe to despatch them at shorter intervals than 25 minutes, instead of ten minutes.

Ample practice illustrates this truth, which can be explained on mathematical principles. In the single speeded traffic of the canal, the tramway, the omnibus, and the passenger or mineral railway, net profits of from 5 to 16 per cent. on capital are now attained. On the English railways, which carry 22 per cent. of a slow mineral traffic, that reduces their earning capacity with regard to capital as before shown, only $4\frac{1}{8}$ per cent. net profit on capital is earned, while the French railways, which only allow the introduction of two rates of running, the *grande* and the *petite vitesse*, earn five and a half per cent. net profit from a scale of freights and fares considerably lower than that of the United Kingdom.

These considerations, deeply as they affect the prosperity of the English railway shareholders, have at the same time a far wider scope. It is evident that the large sums which have been expended by the railway companies in order to acquire control of the canals, so as to divert their natural traffic on to the rails, have been not only wasted, but expended to the deterioration of the net earning powers of the railways themselves. As to that, it has been urged that the railway proprietors ought to be the best judges of their own affairs, and that if they choose to carry traffic at a loss, the country may be the gainer. The reply is, that the country does not gain, but loses, by the employment of any means of production or of distribution which is wasteful or unnecessarily costly.

The average cost of moving a ton of goods for a given distance on an English railway is now one fifth more than in France, and two fifths more than in the United States. It is about three times the cost of an equal duty performed on a canal, at a lower speed. But in addition to the above working cost, the charge necessary to pay interest on capital is higher on the railways of the United

Kingdom than in France in the proportion of 78 to 44. It is not, therefore, so much a question of the rates at which the railway companies will carry, as of those at which they can carry, with any hope of dividend. And mean time the foreign manufacturer, who is able to carry his raw material, as well as his finished goods, at a rate so much cheaper than his English rival, has an immense advantage over the latter. Already we find important industries, such as that of the steel manufacture, driven from their ancient seats to the borders of the sea, or of navigable rivers. The steel makers who could not live at Sheffield, or at Dronfield, may indeed prove to thrive at Workington, whither they have removed. But what does such a fact indicate as to the great bulk of our manufactures? England might conceivably endure, or even after a time be benefited by, the displacement of the great centres of population. But what would be the suffering, and what the loss, to Manchester, Oldham, Birmingham, and all the great inland homes of manufacture? Their displacement, owing to the high cost of transport, would be no less than a revolution.

It is a revolution that has already commenced in the cases of Workington and of some other places, and it is one which, even if trade survive it, will manifestly be most ruinous to our railways. But it is the natural consequence of our allowing the latter to control and to close our canals, and to publish no separate accounts of their different classes of business.

The actual state of public education on the subject of transport in Great Britain, while it is far in arrear of that prevailing in France, Germany, the United States, and other parts of the world, has yet made a material advance since the publication, in 1882, of the Report to the President of the Wolverhampton Chamber of Commerce on the comparative cost of transport by railway and by canal, which has been reprinted by the Select Committee on Canals. The change in the manner in which the value of water transport is regarded by manufacturers has been signally illustrated by the history of the great struggle for obtaining the legislative sanction of the Manchester Ship Canal. In November, 1882, when the proposal for this work was brought before public audiences at Manchester, the incredible fact was stated, and was

uncontradicted, that it cost more at that time to convey a bale of cotton from Liverpool to Manchester than it did in 1829. The general cost of transport, as has been said, according to the French statisticians, was reduced by the introduction of the railway system to something like one-fifth of its former rate. In England, the reduction was somewhat less; but at the present time the actual cost (independent of interest on capital) of conveying a passenger by the Metropolitan Railway is less than a third of that required for the transport, for an equal distance, by omnibus. It is true that in 1829 the Bridgewater Canal provided a water route for the conveyance of merchandise between the two great industrial centres. But it was stated in evidence by the late Mr. Peter Spence of Manchester, a witness of undeniable authority, that such had been the nature of the compact entered into by the Railway and the Canal Companies that it was possible to send cotton from one of these towns to the other by horse transport over the common roads for a less cost than that of the freight charged by the carrying companies. To the question why, if such were the case, a regular van service had not been organised, the reply was that, in that case, the companies would at once lower their freights, with the certainty of recouping themselves for any loss when they had starved out their new competitors.

The public has never yet grasped the fact that a combination which might be perfectly effective against a mode of transport essentially more costly than carriage by railway, must utterly fail if attempted against a mode essentially cheaper than such carriage. The subject of canal transport has been perplexed by the confusion—not altogether made in ignorance—between different orders of canals. And the Manchester directors, who have fought so well sustained a battle in a cause in which the work-folk of Lancashire have taken so deep and so intelligent an interest, are now probably suffering from their very pardonable mistake of inviting M. Ferdinand de Lesseps to Manchester, in the hope that he would prove an energetic and powerful advocate of their scheme. M. de Lesseps, indeed, in no way responded to the expectations formed by his hosts. He took advantage of the opportunities afforded to him merely to beg for English subscriptions to his Central American Scheme. But the public,

thinking that all ship canals must be much the same; noting perhaps that the Manchester directors entirely ignored the clear and convincing exposure of the nature of the Panama speculation, which had been made in the *Edinburgh Review* in April 1882; and observing how, in spite of the costly organisation of the *claque* in behalf of this project, the report of M. Rousseau in the spring of the present year had dealt a death blow to the enterprise, may have had some slight excuse for reflecting the discredit of a hopeless speculation on a *bonâ fide* and practical scheme.

An inland canal possesses indeed but little, except the fact of being a water way, in common with an interoceanic canal. The first great principles in which a canal, of any description, differs from a railway or ordinary road, are, however, of primary importance. They are these: on a canal the chief expenses are fixed, depending on distance and on time, that is to say rated at so much per mile per year. On a railway the chief expenses are in proportion to the work done; the net revenue forming approximately the same proportion of the total revenue, whether that be more or less. Thus the maintenance and transit charges on the Suez Canal were approximately the same in the years 1870-75, 1876-81, and 1882-83. But the receipts of the company from navigation rose from £206,000 in 1870, to £2,653,000 in 1882. The receipts increased more than ten fold, while the working charges remained stationary. On the railways of the United Kingdom the gross earnings per mile increased by 40 per cent. from 1854 to 1882, but the working expenses increased in the same proportion, and the net earning per cent. on capital remained substantially the same.

The second main point of contrast between land-borne and water-borne traffic is presented by the condition of the tare or dead weight. By land-carriage the dead weight often equals or exceeds the paying weight; and on railways the net or paying weight is not more than a third part of the total weight transported by the locomotives, independent of the great weight of the locomotives themselves. In water-carriage the dead weight is balanced by the water that it displaces, and the calculations of cost and returns are based on the net weight alone.

In the third place, by land carriage the resistance which has to be overcome by the propelling power is directly measured by the weight of the goods and vehicles—that is to say, by the gross weight conveyed. But the resistance which has to be overcome by water is measured, not by the weight, but by the size of the vessels transported, being caused by the friction of their outer surface in passing through the water. Thus, as the size of vessels is increased (if the area of the waterway of which they make use be increased in the proper proportion), the resistance increases as a series of squares, while the cargo transported increases as a series of cubes.

It is thus evident that, for equal weights of cargo, the cost of transport by water is only from one-third to a lower proportion of that by land; and that there is no such sharp limit of capacity in the former case as exists in the latter. If a canal and a railway start on equal terms as to traffic, the latter soon attains its maximum limit, and can then be made to serve for the transport of a larger annual quantity of goods or passengers only by a proportionate increase of capital. The canal, on the contrary, has an elastic limit of capacity, which reaches to at least ten times that of a pair of railway tracks. And, apart from the cost of haulage, which, as before stated, is regulated by the size of the vessels, the costs incurred by the canal owners will not be appreciably more in a year for the larger than for the smaller traffic. There is thus a complete series of mechanical reasons for the well-known fact that, while the earning power of railways, per cent. on their capital, is narrowly and sharply limited, rarely exceeding five per cent. (and then only in special cases), the net earning power of a canal is almost wholly undetermined, having been known, in favourable instances, to range from 25 to 125 per cent. on the original capital.

In most inland canals the cost of construction is so small, in proportion to the accommodation afforded, that if the natural increment of traffic be allowed to accrue, the investment becomes year by year more lucrative. The engineer of an inland canal follows the indications afforded by a physical study of the country, and by the natural course of trade; and the proportion between

capital expended and traffic accommodated is one that it is easy to anticipate with accuracy.

In an inter-oceanic canal, on the contrary, the object of the engineer is to counteract, by a bold effort, the physical conditions of the locality, and to divert the traffic from its natural course to a shorter route; which, from the very nature of the case, it must involve much cost to construct. The balance between the cost of capital and the traffic to be anticipated, is thus, in this case, far more difficult to ascertain beforehand, than in the case of an inland route; and the utmost prescience, experience, and good faith are demanded in order to justify such a project. In the instances of the ship canals projected within the last twenty years by French speculators, the absence of these important requisites has been most remarkable.

‘The entire cost of the Suez Canal, together with a smaller canal drawing fresh water from the Nile, with entrances to both seas, and piers and lighthouses at each end, allowing for contingencies, was estimated by M. de Lesseps at £6,480,000; a sum which, to cover interest during construction, was raised to £8,000,000.’ (*Edinburgh Review*, vol. clx., 1882, p. 423.) The actual cost, to the year 1882, with a width only half that required by the concession, was a little more than £20,000,000; of which no less than £5,649,000, or 88 per cent. of the original estimate for the work, had been expended in financing, interest, and management. It is difficult to imagine how the remaining large figure of £143,585 per mile could have been honestly expended on a work of such extreme simplicity, the greater portion of which consisted in merely dredging a ditch through the drifting sand that had choked the original waterway between the Mediterranean and the Gulf of Suez.

So extravagant an excess over the estimate on which the enterprise was based would have been attended with disastrous consequences, but for the unexpected development of the ocean borne traffic which sought the route of the canal, without altogether abandoning that of the Cape. A net tonnage of 436,000 tons in 1870, rose to a net tonnage of 5,775,861 tons in 1883. Cheered by the rapid and unexpected rise in the dividends, the shareholders very naturally overlooked the trebling of the esti-

mates, the scamping of the work, the inadequacy of the canal to give passage to more than nine vessels per day, the enormous salaries and other expenses of administration, the prodigious profits made by the contractors, and the half million of money paid to the projectors who, under the magnificent title of trustees, had contributed the noble sum of £260 to the preliminary expenses of the undertaking. Success covers a multitude of faults—and, from a shareholder's point of view, 16 per cent. dividend is very brilliant success.

Such as it was, however, it encouraged the founders to commence their next speculation on a much bolder scale. The story of the Panama Canal has been recently told, up to a certain point, in a little book, by Mr. J. C. Rodrigues, which has been published by Messrs. Sampson Low, & Co. It is one which, were it not for the undeniable vouchers adduced, would be simply incredible. Europe has seen no such scandal since the time of Law. M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, in the *Economiste Français*, in August, 1885, gave a study of the scheme; and the editor expresses the fear that it will prove 'the most terrible financial disaster of the nineteenth century.' As the foisting upon the public of a ruinous scheme is one of the most effective modes of preventing the action of *bonâ fide* and remunerative enterprises, it is highly important that the real features of the Panama project should be accurately known.

'The idea of piercing the Isthmus between the two Americas is,' says Mr. Rodrigues, 'almost contemporaneous with the first knowledge of the Isthmus itself.' We must refer to the work quoted for the history of the various schemes down to the time when, in May 1879, a 'congress' of 135 persons, of whom 74 were Frenchmen, was held at Paris, and reported, in the absence of any approach to adequate survey, on the possibility of making a level canal from sea to sea through the Isthmus of Panama. The difficulty of piercing one of the secular barriers of the earth, in a deadly climate, by works involving a cutting of between 300 and 400 feet in depth, was aggravated in this case by the fact that the eastern portion of the line proposed is swept by the torrential floods of the Chagres and other rivers, the water of which has been known to rise as much as 40 feet in a heavy rain storm. The

estimate of the cost of the works which was brought before the Paris assembly by M. Ribourt, previously engineer to the San Gothard Tunnel, was £37,200,000, not including any allowance for contingencies, for barracks, or for hospitals. The estimate of the Congress, based on the experience of the cost of the Suez Canal, was £41,720,000, allowing 12 years for the execution of the work. But the quantity of cutting allowed by M. Ribourt was less than one third of that which is now admitted to be necessary. The first appeal to the public to find that sum proving unavailing, M. de Lesseps, still in the absence of any proper surveys, 'rectified' the estimate, reducing it to £21,200,000, and 'constituted the company,' with a capital of £12,000,000 in £20 shares; leaving it to providence to make up, thereafter, the deficit. Out of the capital thus raised the enormous sum of £1,304,000 was devoted to the repayment of the preliminary expenses of M. de Lesseps and his friends, and to the remuneration of the Concessionnaires. A further sum of £400,000 was handed over to an American committee, on what consideration we leave it to M. Rodrigues to explain. In 1882 M. de Lesseps borrowed further £5,000,000 at 5 per cent.; in 1883, £12,000,000 at 3 per cent.; and in 1884, £6,825,840 at 4 per cent. The capital for which the company were responsible was thus raised to £36,614,816, but a rebate of upwards of £8,000,000 had been incurred in the issue of the debentures, leaving a little over £28,000,000 applicable to the construction of the line and other expenses.

We have seen that M. de Lesseps' 'rectified' estimate for the undertaking was £21,200,000. By the end of 1884 he had incurred liabilities to the amount of £36,614,816, realising (including the then unpaid calls on the original £12,000,000) a little over £28,000,000. On the 27th May, 1885, he addressed to the French Minister of the Interior a request to be allowed to raise a further loan of £24,000,000, for which the sanction of the Government was required because it was proposed to attract subscribers by a lottery. At this time, with a proposed capital of £60,747,700, not ten per cent. of the estimated amount of excavation had been executed, and that, of course, consisting of the lightest and cheapest part of the work.

On receiving this application, the Minister referred it to the

Minister of Public Works, who decided on sending M. Rousseau, an engineer-in-chief of the *Ponts et Chaussées*, to Panama, to examine and report on the project. Up to this time no attempt had been made in France to verify or to contradict the statements of M. de Lesseps. The idea of investigation by an impartial and competent engineer was so distasteful to M. de Lesseps, that he at once invited Rouen, Marseilles, and other French, and some English, towns, to send 'delegates,' whom he would personally conduct to the spot, and to whom he extended the same lavish hospitality that had been displayed at the commencement of the Suez enterprise. The expedition sailed, and returned to France, but not a word has been heard, of a definite and satisfactory character, as to the opinions formed by the 'delegates.' Meantime M. Rousseau executed his commission, and returned to France; but the report which he presented to the Minister of Public Works was not allowed to see daylight. A *projet de loi* for authorising the lottery loan was drawn up, and signed by M. Grévy and by the Ministers of the Interior, of Finance, and of Public Works. Instead of either reproducing, or honestly abstracting, the report of M. Rousseau, the *exposé des motifs* signed by these Republican officials stated that 'M. Rousseau, in his conclusions, admits the possibility of piercing the Isthmus of Panama.' It was not until the *projet de loi* was brought under the discussion of a committee of the Chamber of Deputies that it leaked out that M. Rousseau had reported that the canal could not be completed for the estimate, even when swollen to three times its original amount; and that M. Jacquier, the newly appointed director of works of the company, had stated that, within the limits of time and expenditure assigned, it would be impossible to make a canal on the level. On this the committee decided that the whole question should be investigated; whereupon M. de Lesseps withdrew his application for the authorisation of his lottery loan, and is now borrowing money in detail 'by means of new obligations.' The wanton mode in which the powers bestowed by the shareholders on the directors is exercised is illustrated by the fact that, for a payment of 439 francs down, the depositor is to receive a

bond for 1000 francs, payable in 42 years, and bearing an interest of 30 francs per annum.

So much as to cost, assuming (which is doubted by competent judges), the physical possibility of executing the canal at any cost. As to return, if the canal were opened, a matter which has been treated by M. de Lesseps as lightly and carelessly as the estimate of cost, Mr. Nimmo, the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics at Washington, has investigated the matter with the gravity due to its importance. He has drawn up a comparative statement of the respective lengths of voyage, between countries on either side of the Isthmus, by the Cape of Good Hope, by Cape Horn, by the Suez Canal, and by the Panama Canal (if open). Taking those cases in which the last named line would be really the shortest, Mr. Nimmo found that, in the year 1879, there were six categories of vessels that might have chosen the Isthmus route, if available; the total number amounting to 2,818, with an aggregate tonnage of 2,938,386 tons. From the total thus arrived at, however, Mr. Nimmo deducts five groups of vessels, amounting in all to 1,337, with a tonnage of 1,313,607 tons, leaving a balance of 1,441 vessels, measuring 1,674,704, tons which might be fairly expected to use the canal if available. Mr. Nimmo estimates the value of the commerce which would naturally take the route of the Suez Canal as $3\frac{1}{2}$ times as much as that which would go *viâ* Panama. 'Only 7.3 per cent. of the foreign commerce of the United States, 2.76 per cent. of that of the United Kingdom, and 1.53 per cent. of that of France, might,' Mr. Nimmo considers, 'have used the Panama Canal if available in 1879.'

Mr. Dingler stated, on behalf of the Panama Company, to the committee of the Chamber of Deputies, that it was intended to charge 15 francs per ton for passage through the 45 miles of the Panama Canal—the charge for the 100 miles of the Suez Canal being 10 francs per ton. This rate, applied to the tonnage determined by Mr. Nimmo, would give an annual income of a little under a million sterling. What the maintenance of such stupendous and unexampled works would cost, there are no means of even guessing. But apart from this, the only grave and serious estimate that

has been brought before the world does not promise a gross income equal to more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the 60 millions now admitted to be inadequate for the completion of the work. The present annual charge for interest and amortisation, supposing the new sum of £24,000,000 to be raised, is £2,723,278. Thus without allowing a farthing for working expenses there would be a deficit of $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions per annum on the undertaking, if it were completed in the course of the present year.

It raises a feeling of strong indignation in the breast of any honest man who practically knows how rich a store of wealth may be conferred upon a country by the construction of a road, a railway, or a canal, under proper conditions, to witness the history of such a conspiracy against the welfare of legitimate enterprise as we have just indicated. The figures are as unmistakeable as they are undeniable. Any man may be over sanguine; any man may make a mistake: but to persist in promising the impossible; to maintain the same assertions year after year, in spite of the yearly contradiction afforded by fact; to collect, by promise of ample return, the hard won earnings of the peasantry; to fly day light, to shun investigation, and to prepare a vast ruin, the extent of which is day by day assuming wider proportions—this is beyond the range of over sanguine hope, or of pardonable mistake. Above all, the ugly fact of the large sums taken from the first subscriptions by the projectors stamps the conduct of this disastrous affair with an ineffaceable tarnish. One million three hundred thousand pounds to concessionaries and promoters; £400,000 to the *Comité Américain*; £8,000,000 of rebate for attracting subscriptions;—burning figures of this nature and magnitude demand a judicial investigation. And when the defrauded subscribers once open their eyes to the only too manifest facts, if they have patience at the same time to read the *exposé des motifs*, prefixed to the *projet de loi* for the lottery loan, it is not the Canal Directors, nor even the French Ministers, alone that will have to take shelter from the storm. It is by no means improbable that the Republic itself will fall before the blast of public indignation.

It is not in Great Britain that the chief interest will be ex-

cited by the collapse of the Panama Canal. Those persons in this country who have given any attention to the scheme may be divided into those who, having read the article on the subject in the *Edinburgh Review*, were fully prepared both for the book of Mr. Rodrigues, and for the report of M. Rousseau; and those who, believing, on the assertion of M. de Lesseps, that the American canal was both more easy to make, and more profitable an investment, than the African canal, will hold on to that comfortable faith until they awake to find that it is not the barrier of the Cordilleras that has been destroyed. The chief interest we feel in the matter is aroused by the unfortunate effect that the growing public suspicion of the true state of the Panama speculation has had on the totally different scheme of the Ship Canal to Manchester. It would have been well for Lancashire if the promoters of the latter enterprise had from the first disclaimed any parity between two such widely contrasted schemes.

It is, indeed, difficult to imagine a contrast more diametric than that which exists between the proceedings of the French and those of the English projectors. With the former the estimates of cost have been disgracefully inadequate. With the latter they have been so ample that the work has been contracted for considerably below them. As to traffic, the French estimates have been as wild as those respecting cost of construction. The Lancashire traffic is existent; its amount is accurately known, as is its annual increase; and the result of opening a cheaper line of communication in the very course now followed by the traffic, can not be matter for serious doubt. The total traffic in and out of the port of Liverpool amounts annually to above 15,000,000 tons of cargo. The proportion of the shipping trade of the country that, according to population, could be allocated to the Ship Canal, as forming the shortest and cheapest route for it to the sea, has been calculated at 21,000,000 tons per annum. If Manchester be constituted a port, it will be one nearer, by thirty miles, to the great manufacturing districts of Lancashire, to the West Riding of Yorkshire, to Cheshire, Staffordshire, and Derbyshire, than any other. A district of densely populated country, covering an

area of 7,500 miles, and containing a population of upwards of 7,000,000 persons, would find its readiest course to the sea through the Manchester Canal.

On the Suez Canal, in 1881, the receipts were at the rate of 85d. per ton gross per mile, out of which less than 6 per cent. was expended on maintenance and working expenses, including the annual dredging of some 2,000,000 cubic yards of sand. These expenses are calculated on a tonnage of 5,800,000 tons. At an equal rate of mileage charged on the distance from the open sea to Manchester, the amount of toll would be about 3s. 6d. per ton. The directors have estimated their receipts, including dock receipts (which do not form an appreciable feature of the Suez Canal revenue), at 5s. per ton. At this rate, which is less than half the present cost for the corresponding service by railway, a traffic of three million tons, out of the twenty-one million of tons now carried at double the cost over the same district, would yield a revenue of £750,000 per annum. To this has to be added the present net revenue of the Bridgewater Canal, which amounts to £60,000; or 4·8 per cent. on the price at which that undertaking has been purchased by the Ship Canal Company. The result is a dividend of 7·7 per cent. on the whole authorised capital of the Company, less the £1,250,000 paid for the Bridgewater Canal. And as the traffic increases from the moderate allowance of eight ships, each averaging a little over 1000 tons of cargo per day, the working expenses will be substantially unaltered, and increase of traffic will directly measure increase of profit.

The third point in which the Lancashire project contrasts very strikingly with both the French schemes, is that of the transparent and honest disinterestedness of the promoters. Ten per cent. of the profits of the Suez Canal were allotted to the *fondateurs*, and M. de Lesseps has called attention to the fact that the *parts de fondateur*, which represented this interest, and which were issued at 5000 francs each, were worth, on 15th November, 1880, 380,000 francs each. On the Panama Canal, hard cash has been not unnaturally preferred to share of profits; and we have seen how, under the heading of preliminary expenses, paid-up shares to *concessionnaires*, cash to *concession-*

naires, and *Comité Américain*, the sum of £1,784,000 has been *prelevé* on the capital of the Panama Canal Company by M. de Lesseps and his nominees. The reward claimed by the projectors of the Manchester Canal Company is of another order. It consists in the answer of a good conscience only. Time, toil, and heavy subscriptions, have been their contributions to a national scheme. Their remuneration, except that which they may hereafter share with the merchants and manufacturers of Lancashire and the other districts accommodated, is *nil*.

It may be anticipated that the failure of Messrs Rothschilds to obtain a prompt subscription to an undertaking of so remarkable a solidity will be found ultimately more disastrous to the influence and profits of such great capitalists than to the true interests of the canal. Unless a great banker or broker takes a considerable and publicly stated portion of the capital which their firm proposes to issue, they are better left alone. Had Messrs. Rothschilds announced that they had subscribed for one or two millions of the Manchester Canal capital, there can be little doubt that they would have placed the whole stock on the market at a premium. By acting as mere agents, they probably rather discredited the scheme than otherwise. Their commission, whatever it was, would be secure; and the public could not fail to note that they had not enough of the courage of the directors to head the subscription list in proportion to their means. The directors will, no doubt, take the lesson taught by the late Emperor of the French, who found, in a direct appeal to the investing public, at once an escape from the heavy charge of the capitalists, and a much more prompt and ready response, in the way of subscriptions, than he would have been likely to obtain through their intervention. For those who wish to take a speculation, (as the first M. Rothschild phrased it), like a shower bath; in one moment, and out, with a benefit, the next, the agency and the name of a great banker or broker may be of use. For those who have faith in an industrial enterprise, who find their own money, awaiting return from the *bonâ-fide* proceeds of the undertaking, and who call on their neighbours and friends to follow their example, the less they have to do

with the great speculators of the Stock Exchange the better for the solid establishment of the scheme.

There is yet another feature in which the project of the Manchester Canal presents a glaring contrast to both the Suez and the Panama schemes. As to the latter, indeed, we have never held that it comes within the province of practical engineering. But shadowy as were the chances of its construction, we must not forget the despatches of Mr. Blaine and of Lord Granville in 1882; the international tension that then was felt; or the certitude that that tension would be reproduced if the Government of the United States became convinced that there was any probability of the opening of the passage, as to which they are in a position to know much more than do the shareholders. As to the Suez Canal, it is on evidence that one of the main levers by which French capital was attracted to that enterprize was the promise to make the Mediterranean a French lake, and to strike a blow at British commerce. Nor do we hold that Lord Palmerston was unjustified in regarding the construction of the canal as involving possible danger to this country. In case of a war affecting India, so long as all intercourse had to be carried on by way of the Cape, this country had an advantage over every probable foe. But with a short cut opened, which at any inconvenient time could be closed, our position is altogether different. And it is only by acting with such prompt energy, as well as strategic insight, as was displayed by Lord Wolseley in the year of the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, and by taking and holding military possession of the canal in case of war, that great and possibly fatal disaster can be prevented in the not impossible contingency of a Franco-Russian alliance.

With the Manchester Ship Canal, on the other hand, the political bearing is wholly and expressly English. So freely have we given away the fruits of British invention, British skill, and British energy; so philanthropic has been our legislation in the way of securing the greatest advantages for every nation but ourselves, that the products of our industry, driven almost everywhere from their former foreign markets, are contended with even in Birmingham

itself by foreign manufactures. It is no longer a question whether the English manufacturer *will* pay the freights necessary to earn dividend on railways that have cost twice as much per mile as those of the rest of the world; it is a question of what he *can* pay. Month by month that question is receiving more grave and menacing replies. In one after another of our great industries the leading houses have come to the conviction that their works can not be carried on—so as to live by them—in our inland towns. It is only by obtaining free access to the sea that certain raw materials can be imported, or manufactured work exported, so as to contend on anything like equal terms with foreign producers. And this change can be effected only in one of two ways. It must be either by shifting the centres of production to the sea coast, as has been done or is doing with the steel works of Dronfield, the screw manufacturing works of Wellington, the ordnance works of Elswick, the flax industry of Leeds—or by bringing sea-borne craft to the centres of production, as is now attempted by the projectors of the Manchester Canal. No combination of carrying interests, no railway ring, no effort on the part of the Railway Companies, no Board of Trade legislation, can materially effect the march of this revolution. The difference in the actual cost of transport by land and by water is so material as to form a considerable element in the power of Great Britain to compete with the rest of the world. Foreign statesmen understand this subject, speak plainly about it, and act on their knowledge. They adhere to the time-honoured maxims of business, and consequently see their national manufactures increasing as ours decline. In the decade 1873-1882, there has been an increase of 17 per cent. in the imports of the United Kingdom, accompanied by a decrease of 2 per cent. in the exports. During the same period the exports of the United States have increased by 28 per cent., those of Russia by 35 per cent.; those of Holland by 39 per cent.; those of Germany also by 39 per cent.; and those of Austro-Hungary, by 70 per cent. These are not imaginations or inferences, but solid, substantial, menacing facts. While we are helplessly disputing as to the charges which our Railway Companies

have been permitted to levy on our trade, we are paying no heed to the fact that this trade itself is rapidly leaving us, and that the income of our railways is in the third year of its decline. To keep up the modest rate of $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. interest on our railway capital, we now require £78 for every £53 that is spent in actual working expenses. The corresponding sums required for interest abroad are, in France, £44; in Belgium, £45; in the United States, only £15. It is of no use to shut our eyes to these facts. Our railways are, in the more busy lines, taxed to the utmost of their capacity for traffic. They can carry no more, earn no more, except by further outlay of capital (which does not increase the return per cent.), or by throwing on the canals that costly and cumbrous traffic which they ought never to have forcibly diverted from its natural channel. It is now late in the day to do this; but it is as certain as any thing in the future can be, that the decline which the recently announced dividends of the mineral trunk lines continue to display, must continue so long as they carry different kinds of traffic, at different rates of speed, over the same tracks.

If one of the great lines which now reduce to the utmost their carrying capacity by the heterogenous nature of their traffic, were at once to make a stand—to refuse to carry minerals and bulky freight that cannot afford to pay for speed, and to run all their trains at one, or, at the outside, at two, rates of speed, and at remunerative rates only, there would be at first a reduction of 22 per cent. on the gross returns. There would be a corresponding, and probably a greater, reduction in expenditure. There would be an immediate stop put to the steady growth of capital. And, provided that the decline in our national prosperity be arrested, and the natural increase of production due to increase of population be not, as is at present the case, prevented by empirical legislation, a slow but sure and continued increase in net profits would set in, and our railways, worked on the true principles of mechanical science, and of honest and rational business, would fulfil the bright hopes of their early founders, and do justice to the prevision of the Messrs. Stephenson, who said that they looked

forward to the time when no poor man would be able to afford to walk.

ART. III.—THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE.

[The eminent Greek writer to whom we were indebted for the permission to publish, in April last, a translation of his pamphlet upon 'The Greek Question' has now allowed us to lay before our readers, in a series of three articles, an English rendering of his book *Περὶ Βυζαντινῶν*. The attention excited by this work upon the Continent is attested by its having already appeared in a German version, 'Die Griechen des Mittelalters und ihr Einfluss auf die Europäische Cultur,' executed by the late Professor W. Wagner, and in a French translation, 'Les Grecs au Moyen Age,' by M. Émile Legrand; but it has never before been rendered into English. The translator has, with the sanction of the k. Bikelas, whose thorough knowledge of English (best witnessed by his translations of Shakspeare) has enabled us to have the advantage of submitting the proof-sheets to him, somewhat amplified the historical allusions, for the convenience of the reader, but has in every other way endeavoured faithfully to represent the author's ideas, however frequently or widely he may himself differ from them.]

MY present object is to give as clear an idea as I can of what I believe the Byzantine Empire really to have been. I have certainly no intention of attempting to compress into a few pages the abounding history of that Greek and Christian State which withstood all shocks for more than a millennium, or of entering deeply into all the important phases which it underwent. I propose only to call attention to some general conclusions to which a study of the history of Christian Constantinople leads, and to discuss how far the real facts justify the low esteem in which that autocracy is now so commonly held.

As a matter of fact, what impression does the very name of the Byzantine Empire usually convey? How have we been taught to picture to ourselves the historical reality which it indicates? There is no use denying that in the popular imagination the Byzantine Empire appears as a political monstrosity, in which one incapable Emperor succeeded another, each putting out the eyes of his predecessor, and which was

remarkable for the absence at once of courage and of military capacity, except on the part of the foreign mercenaries who were alternately the venal tools and the exacting taskmasters of a detestable Government—a polity in which the union of Church and State formed a grotesque hybrid, utterly destitute of real religious feeling, but where every one was incessantly occupied with childish theological disputes—a State in which the spectacle of a people and a nation was replaced by that of eunuchs governing slaves—a society where the learned, when not exchanging personal vituperation in the course of religious controversy, occupied themselves in composing poems in the form of an egg or of a swallow—a world, in short, which consisted in civilization run to seed. In a word, the Byzantine Empire is regarded as fully deserving the contemptuous appellation of the *Lower Empire*, by which Western Europe has learned to designate it.

But is this what the Byzantine Empire really was? Surely, the fact that it lasted for a considerably longer space of time than that during which the kingdom of England has as yet even nominally endured, is in itself enough to prove the contrary. This duration cannot be attributed either to security purchased by inaction or to immunity from causes of dissolution and ruin. On the contrary, the history of the Byzantine Empire is an history of unceasing and unwearied activity. Without, from the hour of her foundation to that in which her sun finally sank in blood, Christian Constantinople was engaged in constant struggles against successive hordes of barbarians. She did not always triumph in the strife, but, even when she was beaten, she did not succumb, but carried on the contest still; and the fact that she was able to do so is alone a sufficing proof of the strength and vitality of her organization. Within, she had to fight heresy after heresy, but succeeded nevertheless in raising the edifice of the Church upon solid and enduring foundations; and at the same time, by preserving and completing the Roman legislation, she established the principles of Jurisprudence recognised to-day throughout so large a portion of the civilized world. And yet, all the while that the New Rome

was thus engaged upon the double work of ecclesiastical and legal construction, her lettered society was careful to keep alive the lamp of antient culture; it is true that Byzantine literature could not rival the productions of earlier ages, but it preserved none the less the tradition of the intellectual splendour of Greece.

Nor can the Imperial Government be accused of neglecting material interests. Even if we did not possess historical proofs of the supremacy of the Greek world, throughout the whole of the Middle Ages, in those things which make the well-being of a State, it would be enough to look at the ruins of public works which still survive the deluge of savagery, to assure us that the subjects of the Empire had no ground for casting on their rulers the reproaches in which Western European writers are so persistent.

No one, indeed, will be prepared to put forward Byzantine Society as presenting an ideal type of civilization or political morality. That society had, no doubt, its features of vice and of shame. Like every other social body, either antient or modern, it bore within itself the elements of decay and dissolution. It had its times of decadence. But it had also its epochs of greatness; and, in the full tide of its prosperity, it possessed the most perfect political organization known in its day. Its existence guaranteed the preservation of the most precious interests of real civilization. And this remark is true, of every moment of its long existence.

The Byzantine Empire was predestinated to perform in especial one great work in human history. That work was to preserve civilization during the period of barbarism which we call the Middle Ages. For the discharge of that task no abundant originality was needful. The mission of Christian Constantinople was not to create but to save; and that mission she fulfilled for the benefit of the Europe of the future. It is not just on the part of the modern world which has thus profited, to refuse to its Benefactress the tribute of its gratitude; and still less so, when it caricatures history in order to lessen the apparent burden of its indebtedness.

When Constantine the Great, in realization of the project con-

ceived by Diocletian, transported the seat of Empire to the shores of the Bosphoros, and there established a new capital which derived new life from a new religion, he hoped to render the government stronger and the dynasty more secure by removing both from the revolutionary atmosphere of legions and camps. This end was attained even more perfectly than Constantine can well have foreseen. While the Empire still remained for nearly a century one and undivided, under himself and his successors, the Western half already began to show symptoms of approaching dissolution. But when, after the death of Theodosius the Great in 395, the Imperial power was definitively partitioned between his sons Arcadius and Honorius, it forthwith became evident that the two moieties of the Roman world were reserved, both by nature and by fortune, for destinies entirely different. Old Rome was dying. New Rome, on the contrary, the New Rome which was both Christianized and Hellenized, had before her a long vista of life and energy. For eighty years after the accession of Honorius, the Western Empire fell rapidly, and in 476, the deposition of Romulus Augustus, his eleventh successor, brought the line of the Emperors of Old Rome to a tame and obscure conclusion, when the unity of the Empire was again nominally restored in favour of Zeno, who, two years before, had ascended the throne of Constantinople.

During more than a millennium, from the accession of Arcadius in 395 till the heroic death of Constantine XIII. in 1453, the Eastern Empire was governed by a succession of eighty-one lawful Emperors. The larger number counted by historians, (and which indeed owes a good deal to numismatology,) is obtained by reckoning Princes such as Constantine XII., who were merely proclaimed Augusti, or Pretenders like Constantine VIII., whose ephemeral success does not justify their enumeration among the real Monarchs, with whom alone it is needful to concern ourselves in such a sketch as the present. Of the eighty-one autocrats who actually reigned seventy-three can be assigned to one or other of ten dynasties, or, to speak more correctly, groups, the members of each of which respectively, if they did not always succeed one

another from father to son, were at least mutually connected by some such tie as marriage, adoption, or tutorship. In other words, each of these dynasties is a group of persons who succeeded one another upon the throne either by right of blood, or of the Imperial will, and by the consent of the regnant family, of which they were thus the representatives and, in a sense, the members and continuators.

Thus the House of Arcadius embraced four Sovereigns and lasted till 457, when the dynasty closed with the death of Marcian, the widower and successor of his daughter St. Pulcheria. The line of Leo I., (surnamed the Thracian, and the Great) similarly came to an end in 518 on the decease of his third successor, Anastasius I. (Dikoros*), who had espoused Ariadne, widow of Zeno, his son-in-law. The third dynasty was that founded in Justin I., and lasted through five reigns and eighty-four years, ending in 602 by the murder of Maurice, son-in-law of Tiberius II., who had been associated in the Empire by Justin II. When the crimes of Phokas, the murderer of Maurice, had at last worn out the patience of the Byzantine world, he was in his turn deposed and slain in 610, by Heraclius, the founder of a fourth dynasty, which numbered six princes and lasted a century, including the ten years during which the reign of Justinian II. (Rinotmetos†) was interrupted by those of Leontius and Tiberius III. After the execution of the tyrant Justinian in 711, the throne was occupied in succession during a space of little more than four years by Philippicus (Bardanes), Anastasius II., and Theodosius III., before the abdication of the last made room for Leo III. (the Isaurian). The family of Leo reigned till 802, when the Athenian Empress Irene, the fifth monarch of his line, the widow of his grandson, Leo IV. (the Khazar‡) and one of the most remarkable women in European history, was dethroned and banished to Lesbos. The sixth dynasty, founded by Nikephoros I., lasted only eleven years, and in 813, Michael I. (Rangabes) his son-in-law, and the third Prince of

* So called from his eyes being of different colours.

† On account of his nose having been cut off by order of Leontius in 695.

‡ His mother was a daughter of the Khan of the Khazars.

the House, was deposed and retired into a monastery. The career of the successful usurper Leo V. (the Armenian) was short. He was assassinated in Church on Christmas Eve, 820, and the seventh dynasty was founded by Michael II. (the Stammerer). He was followed by his son, his daughter-in-law, and his grandson, but the latter, Michael III. (the Drunkard), was murdered in 867. Basil I. (the Macedonian), who had been Michael's chief chamberlain, had repudiated his own wife to marry the Emperor's mistress, in exchange for whom he had given up to him his own sister, and who had finally planned his assassination, immediately took possession of his throne. From the accession of this monarch, one of the most extraordinary characters in history, the Imperial dignity became really hereditary. Seventeen Macedonian Emperors succeeded one another till Michael VI. (the Warlike), who had been selected as her successor by the Empress Theodora, was defeated by Isaac I. (Komnenos) in 1057, and thereupon abdicated and retired into a monastery. Three different branches of the Komnenoi then successively held the Imperial title for a series of eighteen reigns. The last of these branches was that of the Angeloi. Isaac II. (Angelos), was deposed and blinded in 1203 by his brother Alexis III., but restored by and with his son, Alexis IV. In the January of the succeeding year, Alexis V. (Doukas, surnamed Mourtzouphlos*) a son-in-law of Alexis III., put Alexis IV. to death, and Isaac II. died of grief. Constantinople was stormed by the Crusaders in the ensuing April, and Alexis V., having been taken prisoner, was carried thither from the Peloponnesos, and executed in the same year by being thrown from the top of the column of Theodosius. Hereupon the Crusaders established their own Latin dynasty, and the throne of New Rome was accordingly filled by a ricketty series of six Western Emperors, of whom indeed the third, Peter, died in prison in Epirus without ever reaching his capital. This Latin succession passed in the female line from the House of Flanders to that of Courtenay (of the same family as the present Earls of Devon,) and included John of Brienne, guardian and

* On account of the close junction of his shaggy eyebrows.

father-in-law of the last of the dynasty, Baldwin II. In the meanwhile, the Greek Imperial family had retired to Nice, where Theodore I. (Laskaris) was crowned Emperor. He and his son and grandson, John III. (Batatzes), and Theodore II., were the terror and scourge of the Latin intruders. At last, in 1258, on the accession of John IV., the youthful great-grandson of Theodore I., his guardian, Michael VIII. (Palaiologos) was associated with him in the Empire, and in 1261, they reconquered Constantinople; Baldwin fled; and Michael inhumanly deposed, blinded and exiled his defenceless colleague. The dynasty of the Palaiologoi is the tenth and last of those which reigned over the Eastern Empire. It consisted of a series of eight Princes including John VI. (Kantakouzenos) associated for a time with John V. Finally, on May 29, 1453, Constantinople was taken by the Turkish Sultan Mahomet II., and the Roman Empire ended. The Emperor Constantine XIII. was killed fighting at the gates, and by his heroic death placed a last crown, a crown of imperishable glory, upon the autocracy which had derived its origin from Julius and Octavian. 'The body,' says Gibbon, 'under an heap of slain, was discovered by the golden eagles embroidered on his shoes.' The Imperial bird had never taken a nobler flight than was his last.

It will be seen by this summary that the course of the ten Byzantine dynasties was only broken by seven isolated Princes, whose combined reigns amount to a period of about thirty years. At the same time, it must be admitted that the Monarchs who constituted the ten dynasties themselves did not too often reign in peace, and that the transmission of the crown from one head to another among them was frequently effected by crime and violent revolution. Of the seventy-six Emperors* and five Empresses who occupied the Byzantine throne

15 were put to death,†

7 were blinded or otherwise mutilated,

4 were deposed and imprisoned in monasteries, and

10 were compelled to abdicate.

* Not counting the Latin Emperors, of whom two died in prison.

† Without counting Nikephoros I., who was taken prisoner and murdered by the Bulgars, nor Constantine XIII., killed by the Turks.

This list, comprising nearly half of the whole number, is a sufficient indication of the horrors by which the history of the Empire is only too often marked, and it may be frankly admitted that these dark stains, disfiguring pages which but for them would be bright with the things which were beautiful and glorious, go some way to excuse, if not to justify, the obloquy which Western writers have been so prone to cast upon the East. But it is not by considering the evil only, any more than the good only, that it is possible to form a just judgment upon an historic epoch. To judge the Byzantine Empire only by the crimes which defiled the Palace would be as unjust as if the French people were to be estimated by nothing but the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the Reign of Terror, and the Commune of 1871.

The dynastic crimes and revolutions of New Rome were not a constant feature in her history. On the contrary, the times of trouble and anarchy were episodes between long periods of peace. They arose either from quarrels in the Imperial family itself, which degraded the dignity of the Crown, or from the contentions of Pretenders struggling among themselves till one or other had worsted his rivals and was able to become the founder of a long dynasty. Thus, two centuries elapsed from the time of Arcadius before Phocas, as the murderer of his predecessor, was in his own turn put to death by Heraclius. Heraclius himself died upon the throne, but his reign was followed by a series of tragedies. In the century succeeding his death, five Emperors were murdered or executed, and six deposed, of whom four were blinded or otherwise mutilated. The strong dynasty of the Isaurians then assumed the Crown, but in little more than half a century the Empress Irene, when she deposed her own son Constantine VI., and put out his eyes, began a new series of crimes which continued with little interruption till the murder of Michael the Drunkard, eighty years later. His assassin, however, Basil the Macedonian, was the founder of a dynasty which reigned for nearly two centuries.

The most deplorable epoch in the history of the Byzantine Empire, the period in which assassination and mutilation most

abounded, was that in which it was exposed to the influence of the Crusaders, and thus brought into contact with Western Europe. In the twenty years between 1183 and 1204, six Emperors occupied the tottering throne of the East; all of them were deposed, two of them were blinded, and all were put to death except Isaac II., who anticipated the executioner by dying in prison. I do not point out the coincidence of circumstances in order to throw upon the Franks the whole responsibility for this series of tragedies. But I cannot help remarking that the continual and uninterrupted contact of the Empire with the barbaric elements by which it was surrounded, from the beginning to the end of its existence, supplies an explanation though not a justification of these lamentable episodes in its history. The Byzantine people, although in every respect the superiors of their contemporaries, were unable entirely to escape the influence of their neighbourhood. As the guardians of classical civilization, they strove to keep above the deluge of barbarism by which the rest of the world was then inundated. But it was a flood whose waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth, and sometimes all the high hills were covered, even where might have rested the ark in which the traditions of antient culture were being preserved.

Modern writers are not unfrequently given to accusing the Byzantine Empire of cruelty. They seem to forget that the contemporary manners and jurisprudence of Western Europe were marked by a ferocity which nothing in Byzantine despotism ever approached. To listen to these gentlemen, one would imagine that the legislation of their own countries, both while the Eastern Empire endured and long afterwards, was a model of humanity and sweet reasonableness. It needs no research to find examples to the contrary, nor would there be room to recount them, but a few specimens float through my mind at once. Take for instance the executions of Dolcino in Italy, of Hugh le Despenser (the younger) in England, of the murderers of James I. in Scotland, and the whole history of the processes against the Templars or the lepers in France. Long after the Byzantine Empire fell,

the peculiar English sentence for High Treason was fully carried out until within the last century, and has been pronounced in Ireland within my memory. Similarly, I might point to the legislation of England with regard to religion, and especially to its application during the sixteenth century. The executions of the family of the last Inca of Peru by the Spanish Government, or of Damiens by the French, are little more than a century old, and I need not go on to cite even later instances, the *noyades* of Nantes, for example. That much that went on in the Empire justifies the charge of cruelty, I admit. But I ask Western writers to consider how the histories of their own countries will show by comparison, before they cast the first stone at Constantinople.

Putting aside such matters, and returning to the main question, the history of the Greek Emperors, taken as an whole, leaves no doubt that the end which Diocletian and Constantine sought to attain by transferring the capital seat of the Roman Empire, was more than realized. That history shows also the instinctive tendency of the Byzantine people to be ruled by sovereigns reigning through lawful hereditary succession, a tendency which becomes especially apparent during the last six centuries of the Empire's protracted existence. This Legitimist sentiment, so marked in the New Rome, was certainly not derived from the Old. On the contrary, the absence, in the Old Rome, of any constitution strong enough to secure the regular succession to the Crown, was one of the very things which contributed to paralyze her and to hasten her fall. At Constantinople, on the contrary, there was from the very beginning an effort to correct this evil, and an effort which was continued until the principle of legitimate hereditary right was established.* It is probable that this strong feeling in favour of Monarchy, and especially of hereditary Monarchy, which is a characteristic mark of the Eastern world, was the cause and not the effect of the peculiar State ceremonial, half Asiatic, half Roman, which was so distinctive a feature of the Byzan-

* See Rambaud, *L'Empire Grec au dixième siècle*, p. 23.

tine Court. The Emperor Constantine VII. (Porphyrogennetos*) and George Kodinos, the Kuropalates, have left us elaborate works upon this subject. It is one which is sometimes treated with a smile of contempt. If, however, we consider how in England the scrupulous retention of certain old-world official customs and costumes, which are often absolutely ridiculous in the eyes of foreigners, is accompanied by the most perfect exercise of liberty, both political and personal, we shall probably pause before ascribing to the antique formalities of the Byzantine Court the decline and fall of the Roman Empire. ‡ Moreover, if we are to judge the Byzantine Court by its fruits, we shall not see in it the habitual abode of frivolity and effeminacy. I am certainly not going to make myself the advocate of the herd of eunuchs whose presence dishonoured the Imperial Palaces, nor seek for a moment to justify the crimes which were committed within their walls. But neither, on the other hand, will I forget that manly virtue was never long lacking to the Byzantine throne, that the greater number of the Sovereigns who occupied it showed themselves not unworthy of their exalted station, and were no dishonour either to the pages of their country's history or to the people whose life they represented. I shall not go through the list name by name. I shall only cite, in support of my contention, one or two in a century; but I venture to think that they are names which are in themselves enough to cover every period of the Byzantine history with honour.

Thus, in the sixth century, reigned for forty years Justinian I. As a conqueror, he restored to the Roman arms their antient lustre; as a sovereign, he adorned by his great buildings not only his capital, but cities planted in his remotest provinces; ‡ as a legislator, he took that place in the history of

* Constantines VI. and VII. were so-called because born (A.D. 771, 905) in an apartment of the Imperial Palace panelled with porphyry, which was specially destined for the use of the Empresses upon these occasions.

† That learned and at the same time attractive work, *Κωνσταντινούπολις*, by the k. Skarlatos D. Byzantios, contains (vol. III., chap. 10) a very able picture of Byzantine manners. See also *Paparegopoulos*, v. 26 *et seq.*

‡ On this point, especially consult Procopios, *Περὶ κτισμάτων*.

Jurisprudence which he still holds to-day. The seventh century is filled by the great name of Heraclius, who, in his victorious wars against the Persians, resumed and continued the work of Alexander the Great. His great-grandson, Constantine IV. (the Bearded) was faithful to the glorious traditions of his progenitor, and by his brave resistance to the repeated expeditions of the Arabs against Constantinople, stemmed the tide of Mohammedan conquest and earned the title of Deliverer of Europe.* In the eighth century, Leo III. the Saviour of Constantinople and Reformer of the Empire,† founded the new dynasty of the Isaurians, and gave a new impulse to the Byzantine world. The efforts made by Leo and his son Constantine V. (Kopronymos‡) to remodel the State failed, and the enemies of their Reform have sought to darken their fame by destroying the contemporary records, but their forms loom none the smaller amid the obscurity which overshadows the history of their epoch. In the ninth century, Basil I. (the Macedonian), the founder of the dynasty which bears his name, crowned the work of Justinian I. by his final codification of Roman Law, and exalted the power of the Empire, which enjoyed, under himself and his successors, a lengthened period of greatness and prosperity. In the tenth century, the need of self-defence against the Mohammedans and the Bulgars called to the throne such men as were Nikephoros II. (Phokas), John I. (Tzimiskes), and Basil II. (the Bulgar-slayer). In the twelfth century, three successive monarchs of the House of the Komnenoi, Alexis I. (Komnenos),

* See *Paparegopoulos*, III., 322-340.

† By Finlay, Leo III. is regarded as the true founder of the Byzantine Empire, so far as this portion of the Roman Empire may be so distinguished from its earlier phase.

‡ However revolting may have been the vices and crimes of this Prince, nothing but disgust and contempt can be felt for the inventors and propagators of this filthy nickname, founded on an accident said to have occurred when he was in the baptismal font. However, a world which has learnt to execrate his memory, has since applied it to him so habitually that his name is almost never heard and would rarely be understood, without it.

his son, John II. (the Good*) and his grandson, the heroic Manuel I. (Komnenos), in the midst of every species of plot and distraction, saved the dignity of the throne and preserved the safety of the State. In the thirteenth century, Theodore I. (Laskaris), and John III. (Batatzes) rallied the national forces in the midst of calamities, and cast lustre upon the weakened majesty of the Imperial Crown, till the day when Michael VIII. (Palaiologos) by the re-conquest of Constantinople, opened the way to a new period in the history of the Eastern Empire.

These are not the only Emperors who have left upon the pages of history names which time will never obliterate. If ignorance and spite have long combined to cast obscurity over their renown, the impartiality of more modern writers is at length beginning to do justice to their memory.

Nor is it only to the throne that we must look in order to find the great names of Byzantine history. Through the whole course of the Empire's existence, there were never lacking eminent subjects who do honour to mankind and have preserved the best traditions of the classical ages. In every period there arose illustrious soldiers, able statesmen, good and saintly ecclesiastics, and, last but not least, men of learning to whom the Hellenic nation owes at least the almost unique advantage of possessing in its own language, its own annals, for an unbroken stretch of more than twenty centuries.*

Let us now consider what was the incessant succession of

* Kalo-Joannes. The adjective has sometimes been translated 'the Handsome' and the origin of the surname disputed. He was personally very ill-favoured, in striking contrast to the rest of the Komnenian race; from which it would seem that if intended physically the nickname was a sarcasm. It is, however, generally interpreted of the noble qualities of his mind and heart, and the word (*καλός*) which is already applied to moral excellence by classical writers, has continued to the present day to be used more and more exclusively in that sense.

* Space does not permit me here to enlarge further upon the foregoing topics. I must be allowed to refer the reader once more to that great national work, the *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἔθνους*, of the k. Paparregopoulos. There it will be seen how the Empire when in need never failed to produce a man equal to her wants.

enemies, who never left the Byzantine Government a moment of respite from attack. By looking at them we shall be better able to form a fair judgment as to what must have been the strength and vitality of the Empire itself, and what the extent of the services which by its unflinching and unflagging war of defence it rendered to Europe, or, to speak more truly, to the cause of civilized humanity.

The first adversaries against whom Byzantium had to contend were the Goths. About eighty years before the foundation of Constantinople, these savages crossed the Dniester and the Danube, and ravaged far and wide. After a variety of successes and defeats, they occupied Dacia. Constantine the Great brought them into subjection, and they remained loyal to his lineal heirs, but when these came to an end, they rebelled, and were again subdued, after a longer struggle, by Theodosius the Great. After his death they recommenced their invasions and over-ran and devastated Greece under Alaric. At length, however, they were checked by the Imperial armies, and determined to cross into Italy. The East was thus delivered from this plague. It is out of place here to follow their career of adventure across Western Europe. It is enough to remark that if they had taken root and founded States in the East, as they did in Italy, Gaul, and Spain,—if the Byzantine world had been engulfed beneath the flood of their immigration,—the history of the human race would have been a different one to that which it has been. If the East had been barbarized by the Goths as was the West, and the Eastern Empire had been destroyed, from what materials would the European Renaissance have sprung?

About a century and an half after Alaric, Belisarius and Narses, the Generals of Justinian, crushed the Gothic power in Italy, and destroyed the Vandals in Africa. These military triumphs were a powerful aid to the regeneration of social life and order in the former country, by promising them protection; in the North, however, the Byzantine supremacy was not long-lived; in the Central provinces it disappeared towards the close of the eighth century, at the time of the Iconoclastic persecution; but in the South it lasted on into the eleventh century,

when the definitive rupture between the Eastern and Western Churches was a cause not less powerful than the Norman conquests in effecting the complete severance of Italy from Greece. It must, nevertheless, be owned that the obstinate adherence of the New Rome to the traditions of the Old, and the consequent interference of the Byzantine world in affairs purely Italian, was one of the main causes which accelerated the decline and fall of the Empire. On the other hand, the civilizing influence exercised by the representatives of the Imperial power, the Exarchs of Ravenna and the Governors of Southern Italy, had a larger share than is often assigned to it in gradually polishing the rough elements and preserving culture in the West.

After the Goths, came the Huns. These hordes, gradually advancing from Asia into Europe, made their appearance in the fifth century, under Attila, who, after defeating the Roman troops sent to stem the tide of his conquests, ravaged Thrace and Macedonia, and imposed an humiliating peace upon the Government of Constantinople, which happened to be represented at the moment by a child and a woman, namely, Theodosius II. and his sister, the Empress Pulcheria. When, however, in course of time, the husband of the latter, the Emperor Marcian, ascended the throne, and Attila sent to demand the continuance of the tribute, he was met by the stern reply, 'I have iron for Attila, but no gold.' Whether this haughty answer, and the unflinching firmness of Apollonius, the Imperial Ambassador, would have been justified by the result of war, is a question which was perhaps fortunately not brought to an issue. Attila moved away Westward, spreading devastation and terror around him, till the day when Aetius broke the power of the Huns upon the plain of Chalons-sur-Marne.

Next after the Goths and the Huns, came the Avars. This tribe poured down from the region of the Volga, in the sixth century. In the time of Justin II. and his successors, they devastated the Byzantine provinces, sometimes as avowed enemies, sometimes under the treacherous pretence of alliance. Priscus, the General of the Emperor Maurice, at last subdued

them, in the year 600. But, twenty-six years later, they advanced, in alliance with the Persians, to the very walls of Constantinople, and plundered the suburbs. The siege, however, was in vain; the Avars retired, and never afterwards played an important part in the history of the Empire; but the deliverance of the capital is still commemorated by the Church in the use of the Ἀκρόστιχος Ὕμνος, which was composed to celebrate it.

And now it is time to speak of the Slavs. The consequences of the contact between Byzantium and the Slav tribes were much more permanent than those produced by the incursions of any other barbarous nation; in fact, they are still to be seen at the present day. The first Slavs who attacked the Empire were the Antai. They had seized Dacia, but were subdued by the great Justinian. Nevertheless, they and other Slav tribes continued to move forwards till they even entered Greece itself. From this time onwards, sometimes as allies and sometimes as enemies, sometimes as subjects and sometimes as prisoners, the Slavs scattered themselves about the Empire, and at last took permanent possession of the settlements in which they are still to be found. From the sixth to the eighth century, there were frequent Slav invasions of Greece, and it is upon this fact that Fallmerayer based his famous theory to the effect that the Hellenes are extinct and that Hellas is now peopled by a Slav population.

Since I have here mentioned the above celebrated fad, I hope I may be allowed to remark parenthetically that I think my fellow-countrymen have given it a great deal more notice than its importance demands. It would really seem as if some people thought it a kind of patriotic duty to refute the whimsical fancy in question, and to denounce its author, upon every possible occasion. Even supposing, for the sake of argument, that Fallmerayer had been right in asserting that Hellas was submerged by a flood of Slav immigration, it would have been no disgrace to the Hellenes to receive an accession of foreign blood. On the contrary, many nations great in modern history owe to such an admixture the union of qualities which has raised them so high.

Whether, moreover, the Slavs overspread Greece or not, no one who has any knowledge of the actual phenomena could testify to anything but that their absorption has been complete. The entirely and exclusively Hellenic character of all the features, physical and intellectual, presented by the present inhabitants of the country, is a most striking fact, almost unique in history, a glorious mark of our race, and a wondrous proof of the intensity of our national vitality.

But to continue the list of barbaric invaders from the North. Since we have spoken of Slavs, it is impossible not to speak of the Russians. The Russians first appear upon the stage of history in the ninth century, when the Scandinavian Rurik, with his Warings or Varangians, took possession of Slavia. When Rurik came Southwards to Kieff, the Russians began their attacks upon the Empire, from the Dnieper.* Four times in two centuries did they set sail against Constantinople, but these attempts all failed. The first was in 864, in the reign of Michael III. (the Drunkard); the second in 907, in that of Leo VI. (the Philosopher); the third and fourth in 940 and 944, in the time of Romanus I. (Lakapenos); on the last occasion the Russian Grand Prince, Igor, was scarcely able to escape with a few of his ships. After the deposition of Romanus, Olga, the widow of Igor, who had not long survived his defeat, came to Constantinople, where she was baptized in 956, and by her Christianity was introduced into Russia. From this time forth, the Russians were generally friendly to the Empire, and the 'murderous nation of godless Russians' as they had hitherto been termed, are henceforth designated by the writers of Byzantium 'the most Christian nation.' About the year 960, the Grand Prince Vladimir, the son of Olga, and first Christian Monarch of Russia, married the Princess Anna Posthuma, younger daughter of Romanus II. These relations with the Empire gradually introduced civilization into Russia, where the survival of Byzantine forms and traditions in many things as well as in the Imperial device of the two-headed eagle, is even now more marked than in any other country of

* Called the *Danopris* by Constantine VII.

the present day; her political and religious systems are taken from Constantinople, and so is her mission with regard to the barbarian nations of Asia.

Along with the Slavs we must reckon the Bulgars, although these latter appear in reality to be a Turkish tribe, and to have nothing in common with the Slavs except the fact that they speak (at present) a Slavonic dialect. After to a certain extent subduing the Slavs, they moved forward from the Volga to the Danube, and in 559 invaded Thrace and menaced Constantinople: but the city was saved by the aged Belisarius. Thenceforth, they were a source of continual trouble to the Empire. They seemed to have reached the zenith of their power in 811, when they captured and murdered the Emperor Nikephoros I., and destroyed his army. About a century later, they besieged Constantinople again, and for a time the Byzantine Court was compelled to accord to their chieftain the title of *βασιλεὺς*, which they had hitherto restricted on principle to their own Emperor and to the ruler of Persia, while they styled the Sovereigns of Europe *βῆτας* (*reges*) and *ἑξουσιαστές*, and other Princes simply *ἀρχόντας*. The results of alliance between the reigning Houses of New Rome and of Bulgaria, the constant intercourse with the subjects of the Empire, and the humanizing influence of Christianity, seemed to have mitigated the savagery of the Bulgars, when, towards the close of the tenth century, there broke out a war more frightful than ever. After a bloody struggle which lasted thirty years, Basil II., hence called the Bulgar-slayer, completely shattered their power in 1018, and Bulgaria was made a Byzantine province. But an hundred and seventy years later, in the time of Isaac II. (Angelos), they rose in rebellion again, after they had acknowledged the religious supremacy of the Pope. Nevertheless, while the Latin dynasty were reigning at Constantinople, John, *Kral* of the Bulgars, fought on the Greek side against the Franks. Such is an epitome of the history of the Bulgars. Unhappily, they are again to be found to-day arrayed in hostility to the Hellenic element in the peninsula.

The Magyars or Hungarians are another Turkish tribe, who,

after defeating and partially assimilating the inhabitants of the countries through which they passed, filled Europe with alarm, until their power was destroyed by the German Emperor, Otho the Great, in the middle of the tenth century. The Government of Constantinople encouraged the attacks of the Magyars upon the Slavs, but they were dangerous allies, and, until the last days of the Empire, never ceased to furnish auxiliaries to its enemies as well as to itself.

Space fails me to write of the Petzenegoi, the Komans, the Khazars, and the Ouzoi. We may as well turn away at once from the contemplation of that particular class of foes who came down from the North, during six centuries, to threaten and jeopardize the Byzantine Empire. In the end the Empire succeeded, often by arms, at other times by diplomacy, but most of all by the influence of religion, commerce, and civilization, not only in protecting itself against the dangers of these successive inroads, but in laying, amid these hostile and barbarous tribes themselves, the foundations of civilization and even of future greatness. Thus these tribes, either by conquest, by submission, or by alliance, became resolved into a number of small States, scattered around and sometimes even within the Empire, stretching from the Caspian to Sicily and from the sea of Azof to Syria, but all of them States whose progress was guided by the influence of Constantinople.

The Oriental enemies of the Empire were of a different sort. The Byzantine Power had not there to deal with barbarous tribes, which might indeed first be conquered, but could afterwards be assimilated to the Imperial State by the influences of civilization and Christianity. In the East, New Rome was called to wrestle with mighty nations, possessed of an highly organized polity and animated by a special religious faith. Europe and Asia were thus brought face to face in implacable contrast and collision; the Empire of Constantinople was the representative of Europe, and the modern world owes to it a lasting debt of gratitude for the long contention by which it continued the traditions of classical Hellas in the same regard.

The continuity of these traditions was specially marked in the struggle of the Empire with Persia. The Sovereigns of that

country, as the successors of Darius the son of Hystaspes, regarded the Strymon as their proper frontier. The Emperors, on the other hand, considered themselves the representatives of Alexander the Great. The collisions between these opposing forces were terrible. Whole armies perished. Rich and fertile provinces were reduced to deserts. The combatants sometimes fairly wore one another out, and, in the moment of exhaustion, concluded some treaty which promised a duration of peace; but the wounds inflicted in the last battle were hardly healed, before the war was renewed with more carnage than ever. The deadly conflicts of so many centuries might surely have convinced both the Greeks and the Persians that it was an idle task to try and alter the boundaries assigned to each by nature. But it was not so. Neither conqueror nor conquered was willing to abstain from renewed strife. Vain was the triumph of Julian (the Apostate) and equally vain the victory of his rival, Sapor. It was in vain that Belisarius earned in battle with the Persians his earliest laurels. In the end they were overcome by Heraclius, who, after a long and glorious struggle, imposed peace upon them in 628. 'Since the days of Scipio and Hannibal,' says Gibbon, 'no bolder enterprise has been attempted than that which Heraclius achieved for the deliverance of the Empire.' The peace he forced them to accept, they never broke, but the reason was that they had ceased to exist before they had had time to recover strength for another fray. Four years later, in 632, while Persia was still prostrated from her defeat by Heraclius, and farther enfeebled by internal dissensions, she was finally conquered by the Arabs, then in the outburst of their strength. And from this point the Asiatic enemies of Christianity were no longer the Persians, but Mohammedans, the Arabs first, and afterwards, the Turks.

Persia had not yet been destroyed and Heraclius was still fresh from his victory over her, when he was confronted at Edessa by the ambassador of Mohammed, who summoned him to embrace the new religion. Against the prophet and his followers he was not successful. Jerusalem was captured by Omar, in 637. The next year Egypt fell into the hands of Amrou, after Alexandria had sustained a siege of fourteen

months. Nine years later, the Arabs under Abdallah conquered the remaining countries of Roman Africa, and, in sixty years more, under the command of Mousa, they destroyed the kingdom of the Goths, and took possession of Spain. From Spain they passed into France, but the tide of their conquests in that direction was at length arrested for ever by Charles Martel upon the plains of Tours, in 732.

But while Mohammedanism was thus pouring into Western Europe, Constantinople formed a barrier on the East which it utterly failed to surmount. Constantine IV. (the Bearded) had hardly begun to reign when the Arabs assailed his dominions, and in 672 the Imperial city itself sustained a beleaguerment of five months. The attempt was vainly repeated for seven consecutive years, and was followed in the end by a peace of thirty years' duration, but in 717 the Arabs again subjected the capital to a futile siege, which lasted thirteen months. If only they had succeeded in their first attempts, and conquered the European provinces of the Byzantine Empire, they would have been able to advance Westward and unite their forces with those of their brethren who were moving Northwards out of Spain. In that event, we should have had to-day no victory of Charles Martel to celebrate as the deliverance of the Christian world, and the probable result would have been that delineated by Gibbon: 'A victorious line of march had been prolonged above a thousand miles, from the Rock of Gibraltar to the banks of the Loire; the repetition of an equal space would have carried the Saracens to the confines of Poland and the Highlands of Scotland; the Rhine is not more impassable than the Nile or Euphrates, and the Arabian fleet might have sailed without a naval combat into the mouth of the Thames. Perhaps the interpretation of the Koran would now be taught in the schools of Oxford, and her pulpits might demonstrate to a circumcised people the sanctity and truth of the revelation of Mahomet.'

In 823 the Arabs from Spain conquered Crete, and when, an hundred and thirty-eight years afterwards, it was reconquered by Nikephoros II. (Phokas), that prince found it so thoroughly Mohammedanized, that it required the plantation of new

colonies and a new evangelization before the island could be reclaimed to Hellenism and Christianity. The terrible example of the work wrought by the Arabs in this instance is a sufficient proof of how great was the danger from which not only the Hellenic world of the East in particular, but also Christian Europe in general, were saved by the efforts of the Byzantine Emperors. Constantine IV. (the Bearded), Leo III. (the Isaurian), Constantine V. (Kopronymos), Lachanodrakon under Leo III. (the Khazar), Basil I. (the Macedonian), Kourkouas under Romanus I. (Lakapenos), and, above all, Nikephoros II. (Phokas), and John I. (Tzimiskes), by their calm heroism and their military genius, succeeded not only in checking the Arabs but in weakening them. The day came, however, when a new enemy broke the power of the Caliphs, and took their place as the mortal foe of Christianity. That new enemy was the Turk.

The Turks first appear in history towards the middle of the sixth century. Their relations with Justinian and his successors were friendly, and Heraclius was assisted by them as allies in his wars against the Persians and Arabs. They afterwards adopted the Mohammedan religion, and then joined the banner of the Caliphs, who allowed themselves to be much influenced and guided by the commanders of the Turkish battalions forming their guard. In 1037, Togroul, the son of Seljouk, founded the dynasty thence called Seljoukide, and in 1068 his nephew Alp-Arslan invaded the provinces of the Empire, and took prisoner the Emperor Romanus IV. (Diogenes). Twenty years later, the Turks conquered Asia Minor and expelled the Fatimite Caliphs from Jerusalem.

The capture of the Holy City by the Turks was the cause of the Crusades, which, instead of achieving the permanent deliverance of the Holy Places, effected the impoverishment and ruin of the Byzantine Empire.

The struggle between the Empire and the Ottoman Turks lasted more than two hundred years. The effort of the Turks was, by continual and violent incursions, to exterminate, if possible, the Christian inhabitants of the country, and thus to weaken it, with a view to ultimate conquest. As a matter of

fact, by dint of habitually massacring the peasantry, making slaves of the survivors, and reducing the cultivated tracts to a condition of wilderness, they succeeded after a while in extinguishing the Greek population and doing away with the Greek language, in the interior of Asia Minor. The Imperial armies, now growing feebler and feebler, strove in vain to repel these sudden invasions and to protect the territory and subjects of the Empire. Nevertheless, the internal divisions among the Turks were so serious and their wars against the Mongols so unfortunate, that it is possible that the Byzantine Government might in the end have succeeded in getting the better of them, if the young Christendom of the West had been willing to become the ally and helper of the venerable Christendom of the East. But it was not so. On the contrary, Constantinople found in the Latins, not allies, but enemies. Blinded by religious and commercial rivalries, by the question of the Papal Supremacy, and by the material interests of the Italian Republics, Western Europe failed to see that the line of defence which was imperilled was really her own, and that by being themselves the first to rend and degrade the Imperial purple, the Crusaders were only hastening the moment when the Turks should trample it down in mire and in blood.

Thus it came to pass that the Eastern Empire ultimately fell before the unceasing attacks of its Asiatic foes. Equally unceasing was its strife with the enemies who assailed it from the North and West. In the case of these latter, however, there always existed a certain tie which even the storms of war could never utterly break. This tie was the common profession of the Christian Religion, which always left open the door, in some sort, for the hope of a reconciliation. On the other side, it was quite different. Between Constantinople, Christian, Hellenic, and Imperial, on the one hand, and the despotisms of Pagan or Mohammedan Asia, on the other, there was a great gulf fixed. With them, no community of life could ever be possible. The Arabs took the place of the Persians, and the Turks took the place of the Arabs. But from the beginning to the end, the Asiatic enemy, whoever it was, was always inspired by one and the same

feeling, and one and the same motive. The feeling was an intense passion of religious hatred; the motive, a rabid longing to annihilate that Christian State which formed a barrier between them and the destruction of Europe. But it was thanks to that barrier, that Christian Europe was saved, first from a persecution of extermination conducted by Persian fire-worshippers, and then from a slavery where the religion of the Koran would have been propagated by the sword of the Arabs. And it was thanks to that barrier, that Western Europe had the time given her so to develop her strength, that, long after Constantinople herself had fallen in the struggle, a martyr in the cause of the human race, she was able to shatter the Turkish navies upon the waters of Lepanto and to rout their hordes before the walls of Vienna. Unhappily, however, the fall of Constantinople was in great part the work of that very Europe which owed and owes her so much. It is true that the death-blow was given by the battle-axe of Mahomet II., but this blow was only fatal because the victim was already half-dead, and it is the Crusades which are responsible, more than anything else, for reducing her to that condition. What were they then, these Crusades, which moved Christendom, both Eastern and Western, to the very depths of its being, and were fruitful of consequences which the world is still experiencing to-day?

The preaching of Peter the Hermit kindled in Western Europe an irresistible conflagration of religious excitement. Latin Christianity seemed to be about to emigrate bodily into Asia for the purpose of rescuing the Holy Sepulchre. It may possibly be the case that the movement owed a good deal of its success to the hereditary nomad instinct, transmitted to their descendants by the barbarian hordes which had convulsed and colonized Europe some five or six centuries previously. However that may be, the present migration was destined to repair all the ruin which these tribes had inflicted upon the civilization of the West, by bringing back to it once more, from the surviving representative of Imperial Rome, the tradition of the classical culture of which it had been deprived.

The Crusades wear a very different aspect according as

they are viewed from an Eastern or from a Western standpoint. To the Western eye they present themselves in all the noble proportions of a great movement based upon motives purely religious, when the Europe which has since attained such vast developments, not in one continent or one hemisphere only, but in New Worlds besides, first appears, the self-sacrificing champion of Christianity and of civilization, in the vigour of her strong youth and the glory of her intellectual morning. It is natural that a certain honourable pride should still inspire any family of the Latin aristocracy which can trace its pedigree to those who fought under the banner of the Cross. But when the Easterns beheld swarms of illiterate barbarians looting and plundering the provinces of the Christian and Roman Empire, and the very men who called themselves the champions of the Faith murdering the Priests of Christ upon the ground that they were schismatics, it was equally natural that they should forget that such a movement had originally been inspired by a religious aim and possessed a distinctively Christian character.

The cruelty and violence of the Crusaders roused at once the indignation and the disgust of the subjects of the Empire. From the very beginning, the Latins and Greeks regarded one another with mutual distrust. They looked upon each other not only as heretics, but as political adversaries. For this reason the attitude of the Crusaders in dealing with the Byzantine population was originally one of hostility. Their appearance upon the stage of history is the first act in the final tragedy of the Empire. The tact and skill of the Emperor Alexis I. (Komnenos) were able to turn the First Crusade, in 1096, to the temporary profit of his country, but both that expedition and those which followed it, in reality shook New Rome to her very foundations, shattered her forces, and drained her resources. The climax was reached in the capture and sack of Constantinople in 1204. The outrage upon the Majesty of the throne, and the concomitant dismemberment of the Empire, dealt it a blow from which it never again entirely rallied. 'If,' says Paparregopoulos, speaking of the First Crusade, 'the Emperor Alexis had been able to em-

ploy against the Turks the land and sea forces which he at length found himself compelled to turn against his pretended allies, and the troops whom he had been obliged to send with them into Asia Minor and Syria; if he had been able to reserve for the struggle against Mohammedanism, the resources of which he was plundered by the looting and extortions of the Crusaders, he would have been able to get rid of all danger from the unbelievers far more effectually than was done by the ephemeral success of the Latins.'

History has yet to treat the attitude of the Crusaders in the East from a point of view of judicial impartiality. The images of these events are still shown to us through the glass of Western prejudices. 'The Latins,' admits Finlay, 'would not allow that their disasters were caused by their own misconduct and imprudence; they persisted in attributing all their misfortunes to the treachery of the Greeks; and though Alexis delivered many from captivity, the Crusaders generally regarded him as an enemy.' According to these accounts, it was always the Byzantines who were in the wrong; they were liars and traitors; and they had no cause to regard the Crusaders with suspicion. But the Western historians, whether they be those who strive to rise above national prejudices or those who allow themselves to be carried away by them, are alike unable entirely to conceal the barbarism and self-seeking, the unceasing quarrels, the faithless disregard of oaths and treaties, and the total absence of any capacity for the direction of either military or civil affairs, which so abundantly mark the conduct of the Crusades, and especially of the earlier. Was it possible that such armies could long withstand the Mohammedan hosts, or save that Empire against which they themselves actually plotted? And were not the Emperors right, after a thorough experience of what they were, in doing what lay in their power to get rid of company so doubtful?

In the First Crusade, the Franks did not assume possession of the Imperial throne, not because they would not, but because they could not. But when the turn of the Fourth Crusade came, they were more accustomed to things Eastern, and they had the luck of finding the Empire in a state of weakness and

paralysis, the outcome of the unceasing wars of Manuel I. (Komnenos) and the series of revolutions which had followed him. Under these circumstances, the Latin conquest of Constantinople was easy. However, the Latin conquerors remained in possession of the Imperial throne for only fifty-seven years, and during that time a glorious succession of gallant Emperors gathered together in exile the now recovering forces of Greek nationalism, and turned them upon their Christian adversaries, until the day came in 1261, when Michael VIII. (Palaiologos) reconquered the city of Constantine. From that moment the division between the East and West became more marked, and their mutual estrangement has been lasting. From time to time, attempts were made at reunion, but they were made without confidence on the one side and without sincerity upon the other. The fundamental element in every proposal which emanated from the West was the recognition of the Papal Supremacy. There were some Emperors who, in moments of national weakness and peril, accepted the claims of the Latins, but the mass of the people were never willing to purchase by such a sacrifice the help of Western Europe. On the contrary, when they called to mind the Frankish conquest, with its burnings, its devastation, its banishments, and its religious persecutions, they feared the Western alliance, and came to say, with Lukes Notaras, 'better a Turk's turban than a Cardinal's hat.' It was a mistake, of course; and a mistake which was dearly paid for. And yet, after all, who knows? Supposing that the Frankish conquest had been lasting—supposing that an enduring political edifice had been raised upon the foundation of a Latinized Byzantine Empire—supposing that the Bosphoros had been for ever cleared of the Turks by the arms of the Western immigrants who would then have settled there as permanent masters—the consequences might have been even more fatal to the free development of the purely Hellenic genius than has been the Ottoman sword. It is true that those fair lands which the Turks have blasted for four hundred years would not have suffered so long if the Franks had been their owners instead. But when the inhabitants of these lands are viewed from the

purely ethnological standpoint, as *Hellenes*, they may to-day owe something even to Mahomet II. It might perhaps have been that in an Hellas, definitively occupied and ruled by Westerns, the Hellenes would have lost the traditions and memories of their own antient glories, and that to-day they might not have been what they are, but an hybrid mixture of Eastern and Western races, speaking a language reduced to a corrupt dialect, and emasculated of those elements which, amid all the calamities of their nation, have been at once their safety and their honour.

The invasion of Byzantine territory by the Normans may be regarded as an incident cognate with the Crusades, although, as a matter of chronological sequence, it began somewhat earlier. After their conquest and occupation of a portion of Northern France, these barbarians adopted the use of the French language, but they did not relinquish their own customs, their nomadic instinct, and their hunger for conquest. In the year 1016, a Norman army poured into Italy and seized the provinces still ruled by the Eastern Empire. Between 1081 and 1084, Robert Guiscard made two expeditions against Greece, but although he began by defeating Alexis I. (Komnenos) he did not succeed in establishing any permanent foothold. About sixty years later, the Normans attempted a new expedition against the Empire. They captured Corfu and harried the mainland. But the Emperor Manuel I. (Komnenos) repulsed them, carried the war into Italy, and compelled them to sue for a thirty years' peace. Meanwhile the same race conquered England. The difference of their fortunes in the two countries is a sufficient proof of the comparative superiority of the Byzantine Empire at the time.

The Norman incursions paved the way for the Frank occupation of Greece proper, which followed the seizure of Constantinople in 1204. This occupation lasted two centuries, but it has left hardly any abiding trace, and introduced no important change in the destiny of the country. Neither did it do anything to retard the progress of the Turkish conquest. And then Constantinople fell, and the whole Hellenic world passed into Turkish slavery. Western Europe looked on with uncon-

cern at the appalling catastrophe. It was in vain that the last of the Palaiologoi cried to them for help. 'Christendom' says Gibbon, 'beheld with indifference the fall of Constantinople. . . . Some states were too weak and others too remote ; by some the danger was considered as imaginary, by others as inevitable : the Western Princes were involved in their endless and domestic quarrels ; and the Roman Pontiff was exasperated by the falsehood or obstinacy of the Greeks. Instead of employing in their favour the arms and treasures of Italy, Nicolas V. had foretold their approaching ruin ; and his honour was engaged in the accomplishment of his prophecy. Perhaps he was softened by the last extremity of their distress ; but his compassion was tardy ; his efforts were faint and unavailing ; and Constantinople had fallen before the squadrons of Genoa and Venice could sail from their harbours. Even the Princes of the Morea and of the Greek Islands affected a cold neutrality : the Genoese colony of Galata negotiated a private treaty ; and the Sultan indulged them in the delusive hope that by his clemency they might survive the ruin of the Empire.'

Thus perished Constantinople, Christian and Imperial. Up to her last hour she had never ceased, for more than a thousand years, to fight. In the fourth century she fought the Goths ; in the fifth, the Huns and Vandals ; in the sixth, the Slavs ; in the seventh, the Persians, the Avars, and the Arabs ; in the eighth, ninth, and tenth, the Bulgars, the Magyars, and the Russians ; in the eleventh, the Koumanoi, the Petzenegoi, and the Seljoukian Turks ; in the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth, the Ottomans, the Normans, the Crusaders, the Venetians, and the Genoese. No wonder that at last she fell exhausted. The wonder is, how she could keep herself alive so long. But it was by this long battle that she succeeded in saving from destruction, amid the universal cataclysm which overwhelmed the classical world, the civilization of the antients, modified by the Christian Religion. The moral and intellectual development of modern Europe are owing to the Byzantine Empire, if it be true that this development is the common offspring of antiquity upon the one hand and of Christianity upon the other.

ART. IV.—THE BAYREUTH FESTIVAL.

THE play-bills of the Bayreuth Festival were printed with black borders, out of respect to the memory of the Royal Patron, under whose protection the performances had been originally announced to take place, whose refined taste so deeply appreciated the music of Wagner, and who found in its conceptions a relief under the malady which has since hurried him so terribly into the grave. The garden of the house in Bayreuth presented by him to the Master now holds the Master's tomb. The body of Liszt sleeps beside that of John Paul Richter under an heap of withering wreaths in the midst of the wilderness of flowers which forms the Bayreuth Cemetery. But at the scene of representations so grave and thoughtful as those of the Wagner Theatre, these elements of gloom seem less a reminder of the *Vita brevis* than of the *Ars longa*. The work gloriously survives its maker. While yet in his own hands it was in itself an even more striking testimony to the comparative immortality of the creations of Art as compared with the fleeting bodily vitality of those in whom they spring. The great Arthurian cycle, originally developed by the Cymric Celts in the form of historical legend and heroic myth, based upon their struggles against the Saxon and English invaders of Britain, has lived to conquer the Teutons themselves, and inspires the genius alike of Tennyson and of Wagner. Nor is it the less interesting to the Scotch reader that the romance of Gottfried von Strasburg who gave to the episode of Tristrem its chief German form, cites the author of our own *Sir Tristrem*, generally believed to be Thomas the Rhymer, under the name of Thomas von Britanie — an appellation which shows that, whatever may now be the theories of some writers upon Scottish ethnology, the inhabitants of Bernicia were recognized, by the Germans of the Thirteenth Century, as being Cymric.

Bayreuth, which has the good fortune to be the scene of the Festival, is a small uninteresting country town. The surrounding views, with the exception of some favoured spots, such as the grounds of the Fantaisie Villa, and the occasional beautiful effects of colour over the fields, the low hills and the fir-woods, are rather

below the average of Bavarian landscape. The place itself conveys an impression of having at some time possessed a greater prosperity than at present. Among other features, it possesses a quarter which still bears at least the name of a Jewry. The earliest houses seem to be of the end of the Fifteenth or beginning of the Sixteenth Century, and there is a large plain Gothic Church with two towers surmounted by bulbous spires and joined by a singular aerial bridge, of the same period. From this date onwards there are buildings of different epochs and of various pretensions, up to the earlier part of last Century, when the town would seem to have reached its zenith of prosperity. There are a few large modern erections, and near the outskirts the extensive garden and unpretentious house given to Wagner by the late King.

The Wagner Theatre itself is outside the town, and stands on a rising ground in the midst of a park of its own, which is already very pretty, and will in time be beautiful. The Theatre is the only building in it, with the exception of two eating-houses, one larger than the other, to meet the absolute needs of the public. Without reckoning those who may be in the boxes or gallery, who are comparatively few, the thirteen hundred and more persons who are seated in the body of the Theatre were required to be in their places by four o'clock, when the drama began. In the case of *Tristan und Isolde*, the First Act lasted only an hour and a half, but in the case of *Parsifal*, two hours. A pause then took place until half-past six. There was afterwards another pause, from about a quarter to eight till half-past. The whole ended towards ten o'clock. During one or other of the two pauses the spectators had time to eat an hasty meal, and were warned that the representation was about to be resumed, as it was originally heralded, by blasts of trumpets from the front of the Theatre, suggesting in their theme the music of the Opera which was in performance.

The Theatre is a plain building, not ugly, mostly of an half-timber construction. There is hardly any attempt at decoration within or without, the whole aim being simply practical. Internally, 1345 seats are arranged in a gradation of 30 slightly semi-circular rows, which rise rather steeply one above another, like the seats of a classical theatre, and are so placed that every one

of them commands a view of the stage almost equally good. For the still greater convenience of the spectators, however, women as well as men were asked to take off their hats and bonnets. Behind the seats, at the end of the whole house, is a single line of lofty boxes, and, above them, a low gallery. The sides of the auditorium are occupied by a series of plain Corinthian columns upon bases, those nearest the proscenium projecting farthest from the wall, so that the general shape of the mass of seats is remotely like that of an half-open fan. Between these columns are the many doors, by which the whole interior can be emptied in one or two minutes. The doors were shut before the commencement of each Act; no one was allowed to come in late. Upon the columns are a number of glass globes lighted by the electric light. This is almost entirely turned off while the representation is proceeding. Nearly all the light then comes from the stage, which is illuminated from above, as in nature, so that the actors throw shadows upon their own feet. The foot-lights are hardly perceptible. During the performance the house is therefore much too dark to read; and the reflection from the stage makes barely visible the long rows of silent and motionless heads. The curtain, of a creamy white, with long broad perpendicular stripes of purplish brown, and a sort of red and gold dado, is not raised, but pulled aside, where it hangs in soft folds. The general effect is as though the spectator were looking from a dark room, through an open window, into the open air. The orchestra is invisible. The acoustic properties of the building, which has a flat ceiling, slightly painted with the design of an awning, are admirable. The most absolute silence is enforced during the whole performance. As the light disappears, a general 'hush' is followed by complete stillness: not till then are the first notes heard. Any attempt at a whisper after this instantly provokes intense—though mostly silent—tokens of indignation. The effect of this intense stillness of the assembly is very striking, especially in the pauses which are sometimes made to enhance the impression made by the music in the more solemn passages. At the conclusion of each Act, however, there was usually a sort of struggle, of varying result, on the part of the less cultivated portion of the audience, to applaud. It seems a pity that

stronger measures could not be taken to secure against this barbarous, though well-intentioned, outbreak, which disturbs the mind when most imbued with the ideas excited by the music, and indeed caused a very distressing shock in such moments as those which necessarily follow the conclusion of the First and Third Acts of the *Parsifal*. It may be remarked that the people who applauded at the conclusion of the Acts were exactly those who showed the most tendency to defraud and outrage the public by the brutality of speaking during the representation.

Tristan und Isolde and *Parsifal* were the only two dramas performed this year, the former being enacted every Sunday and Thursday, and the latter every Monday and Friday. This arrangement seems somewhat unfortunate, as the religious character of *Parsifal*, and the allusion to the sacred mystery of the Grail, make it far more suitable than *Tristan* for representation upon Sunday and Thursday, and this objection is certainly not sufficiently counterbalanced by the isolated though deeply significant fact that the time belonging to the Third Act in the former composition is the morning of Good Friday. Both dramas are alike taken from the Arthurian cycle.

To give the story of *Tristrem* and *Isonde* as in the classic romances, or rather, myth, would have been clearly impossible. The subject would then have been adultery, and it would have had to have been treated with the licentious immorality in which the brilliant pages of *Sir Tristrem* are steeped. Wagner has accordingly eliminated the gross element, and only preserved the one great thought of the affection of him whose name has descended to us through thirteen centuries as that of one of the Three Faithful Lovers of Britain.* Consequently, in the treatment adopted by

* The other two were ; Caswallawn, son of Beli, the faithful lover of Flur, daughter of Mugnach Gorr ; and Kynon, son of Clydno Eiddin, the faithful lover of Morvyth, daughter of Urien of Rheged. In the Triads, *Tristrem* is also mentioned as one of three Compeers of Arthur's Court, as one of the Diademed Princes, as one of the three Heralds, and as one of the three Stubborn Ones, whom no one could turn from his purpose. In a farther triad he is represented as able to transform himself into any shape he pleased. Lady Charlotte Guest's *Mabinogion*, p. 312, 313. It is an inter-

Wagner, no mention is made of a completed marriage between Isonde and Mark of Cornwall, and the treachery and dishonour of Tristrem are sufficiently emphasized by the attempt to secure, both during his charge as Ambassador entrusted with the nuptial treaty, and after the arrival of the bride, the affections of the woman who has been, by his own means, contracted to the King his benefactor. This skilful arrangement enables the composer to create the high and self-sacrificing character of Mark, wounded by the baseness and ingratitude of Tristrem, but ready to surrender his own rights and secure the happiness of others rather than punish the man who has played him false and compel his betrothed to a marriage with one whom she loves less. Thus also the night interview of the lovers is simply represented by a duet.

To redeem the character of Tristrem and Isonde, full resort is had to the classic expedient of the philtre. According to the Auchinleck *Sir Tristrem*, this incident, it may be remembered, is as follows :—

‘ Her moder about was blithe
And tok a drink of might
That loue wald kithe,
And tok it Brengwain the bright
To think :
“ At er spouseing anight
Gif Mark and hir to drink.”
Ysonde bright of hewe
Is fer out in the se.
A winde ogain hem blewe
That sail no might ther be.
So rewe the knightes trewe,
Tristrem, so rewe he,
Euer as thai com newe—
He on ogain hem thre—
Gret swink.
Swete Ysonde the fre
Asked Bringwain a drink.
The coupe was richeli wrought,

esting fact that Tristrem and Isonde were also one of the three pairs of lovers first received into literary favour by the German poets of the Twelfth Century. The others were : Flore and Blanchfleur, and Æneas and Dido.

Of gold it was, the pin ;
In al the world nas nought
Swiche drink as ther was in.
Brengwain was wrong bi thought,
To that drink sche gan win
And swete Ysonde it bi taught,
Sche bad Tristrem bigin,
To say.
Her loue might no man twin
Til her ending day.'

It may fairly be questioned whether Wagner would not have done better for a position, which after all demands some consideration, if not for possibility, at least for the constitution of the human mind, if he had followed the Rhymer in making the administration of the philtre accidental, instead of venturing the series of violent situations with which, after an overture expressive of the disturbance of the lovers' hearts, the Opera opens. Isonde is on her voyage from Ireland in a pavilion on ship-board, attended by Brengwain. In despair at the hourly-approaching prospect of the forced marriage with Mark, exasperated by the remembrance that Tristrem has killed her uncle Morold whom she had desired to marry—an idea to us at once disgusting and ludicrous, but not so to the German mind—and that she herself unknowingly healed the wound received by him in the combat, and yet with a mind distracted by a personal passion for Tristrem himself, she has not spoken for a day and a 'night. Driven to desperation by hearing a sailor sing of his love left behind in Ireland, by the refusal of Tristrem to come and speak to her, and by a jeering song sung by the crew upon the theme of his slaughter of Morold, she determines upon suicide, against all the entreaties of Brengwain, but cannot bear that Tristrem should survive her. Her mother has provided her with a sort of medicine-chest, containing specifics for different occasions, and, among others, a love-philtre to be shared with Mark, and, finally, as a solution of situations which may otherwise be insoluble, a dose of poison. As the ship nears the land, and the cheers of the sailors hail its arrival, she obtains an interview with Tristrem, and, in a scene of great beauty, persuades him to share with her the deadly cup. But Brengwain has, in horror, secretly

substituted the love-philtre. The story resumes its classic course. The cup once drained, the fated beings are destitute of self control. The position has all the pathos of that of the Chevalier des Grieux, in the inn-yard at Amiens, 'I advanced without the slightest reserve towards her, who had thus become, in a moment, the mistress of my heart.' They can reason no more, they can only feel.

The Second Act, which represents the nocturnal meeting of the lovers in the garden of Isonde, is undoubtedly the principal one of the Opera. Horns sounding in the distance announce that Mark is gone for a hunt by night, and the Queen-elect, despite the warnings of Brengwain that her passion has been betrayed by Melot, the intimate of Tristrem, extinguishes the torch which warns him to keep at a distance, and feverishly signals him by waving her veil. The scene which ensues suggests the suspicion that Wagner, in a moment of poetical inspiration, composed a duet between lovers, and afterwards wrote an Opera to surround it, selecting for the subject the most purely passionate of the stories of the Arthurian cycle. It is—especially after the point at which Tristrem and Isonde sit down together in the arbour—of such exquisite beauty, that the hearers were sometimes not without audible signs of emotion. This great episode is violently broken by the arrival of Mark and his courtiers. The noble reproaches of the injured King are, as already remarked, so composed by Wagner as to place him in the most favourable light. Tristrem has nothing to answer. The dawn is now streaking the distant sky with red. The musical theme of the duet returns. In the blind impetuosity of his thralldom, he falls back from the powerless murmur of guilt into the strain of passion and openly, solemnly, reverently, tenderly, kisses Isonde again. This insult provokes an outburst from Melot, from whom, almost unresisting, Tristrem receives a wound.

In the Third Act, Tristrem is in his own castle in Kareol, tended by his friend Kurvenal, who, however, realizing the danger of the wound, has sent for Isonde who is alone able to heal it. The greater part of the Act is occupied by the ravings

of Tristrem, and the dialogue of Kurvenal with him and with the shepherd who is upon the watch to signal the arrival of the ship. At length he announces its approach, but the emotion is too violent for Tristrem. Left alone for an instant, he springs from his bed, and tears off his bandages, and when Isonde arrives, he can only recognize her and expire in uttering her name. As she lies fondling the corpse, in the vain hope of exciting some signs of life, Mark follows her, having hastened after her in another ship, to give his consent to the union of the lovers. But it is too late. The senses of Isonde are going. For a while she thinks she sees and feels the hero rising into nobler worlds and carrying her with him ; and then falls upon his body.

Of the actual theatrical setting of this drama there is little to say. It excited less than *Parsifal* the feeling of regret that music so noble should be hampered at all by the artificial accompaniments of the stage. The deck of the ship, and the sea-view over and beyond it, in the First Act, were very beautiful, but it may be regretted that as the approach to the land was represented towards the close by introducing a view of the coast unseen at the beginning, the illusion was not perfected by making the piece of scenery move. The Second Act is remarkable, like other scenes in this Theatre, for the extraordinary excellence with which the overhanging boughs of the trees are represented, and which is really often undistinguishable (did not one know it to be false) from natural foliage ; and the same remarks both as to sea-view and to foliage apply to the last Act, but in this again, some arrangement should be made for causing the ships to appear within a very limited outlook, such as an harbour ; there is no time for them to come from the horizon, where the shepherd seems to descry them, before the passengers land. And it would certainly heighten the effect to the spectators if the moving masts could appear. As to costume, the darkness which shrouds the details of Irish and British life in the Sixth Century would justify almost anything, and there seemed to be an attempt at conjectural correctness ; but the architecture of Britain must at that time have been the classical style introduced by the Romans, and nothing can palliate the introduction of German Gothic.

It has been necessary, in speaking of the Bayreuth Festival, to touch to some extent upon *Tristan und Isolde*, since that Opera formed one of the representations. The real importance, however, centres in *Parsifal*. The widow of the composer has forbidden the performance of this work, even as an Oratorio, in any other spot than the Bayreuth Theatre. This decision may be to be regretted, but the fact is so; and those who desire to hear *Parsifal* must go to Bayreuth, and to Bayreuth at the appointed times, for the purpose. It is true that this composition would be impossible in the conditions of an ordinary Opera, to which indeed it is not analogous. It is essentially and purely a religious drama, and may be compared with those plays which were composed during the later Middle Ages and Renaissance for the purpose of being acted in connection with the Festival of Corpus Domini, and of which those by Calderon form so remarkable an example. The allusions are of the most sacred character. Such themes and such a treatment would be insufferable to the tasteless frivolity which only last year left the Opera House at Covent Garden to be turned into a circus. On the other hand, those who would resort to hear *Parsifal* do so in order to enter into the thought which is its essence, and to raise the imagination upon the wings of its music to grasp the ideas which it has been created to express. To such an audience the surroundings of a common theatre would be prohibitory; it is only the serious and simple circumstances of the Bayreuth Theatre, the concentration of every effort and of every detail upon the most perfect possible interpretation of the poet's conception, which render tolerable any scenic performance of this wondrous masterpiece.

The story of *Parsifal* has in common with that of *Tristan* the element of belonging to the Arthurian cycle. But instead of this mere connecting fact with the myths which touch upon the story of the Holy Grail, or such a distant allusion as that which passes like a thrill through the last Act of *Lohengrin*, the reliques of the Saviour's Passion themselves form the centre round which the whole action turns. In constructing this action, Wagner has followed the old, or rather, oldest writings of the Legend of the Grail, Wolfram von Eschenbach in his *Parzival*,

and the author of the French romance of *Percivale*,* and made Sir Percival, and not Sir Galahad and Sir Lancelot, or Sir Galahead alone, as in the later romances, the hero of the drama. According to the story as here unfolded, two of the most sacred of the reliques of the Passion, viz., the Holy Grail itself, the Cup of the Last Supper, and the Spear of the Centurion, which pierced the Divine Side, have been permitted to pass through the ministry of Angels, into the keeping of the Christian champion, Titurel. By him they have been deposited in the Castle of Mount Salvato, where they are surrounded with watching and worship by a religious body of Knights, who form a monastic community, save when summoned forth upon the service of Faith and Charity—the ideal upon which the Orders of the Temple and of the Hospital were actually based. The story of the drama is that of an attempt made to destroy this community, through sin, by one who holds the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balac to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israël, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication; and then the restoration of the tottering sanctuary by the purity and devotion of Sir Percival. The action thus assumes a domestic character, as it were internal to the family of the monastery, and the religious habit of the members constantly appears upon the scene. They are divided into the three ranks of Knights, Squires, and Pages—all alike are clad in grey tunics, girt with leathern girdles, over which the Knights and Squires wear a dull scarlet mantle. This mantle, in the case of the Knights, is marked with a white dove upon the right shoulder, and a sword hangs by their side. One of them is termed the King, but his dress differs in nothing from that of his brethren. His main duty is to unveil before them, in the great Hall of the Castle, the Holy Grail. When this is done, amid hymns of

* The germ of the legend seems to be in *Peredur* in the *Mabinogion*. In the French we have first in date the *Legend of Joseph of Arimathea*, or the *Little Saint Graal*, by Robert de Borron, then Walter Map's *Great Saint Graal*. From this sprang the original form of *Percevale*, in which the Knight of the Quest has not originally anything to do with the Round Table: and next, *Lancelot du Lac* and the *Quest of the Saint Graal*, a quest of which Galahad and Lancelot, and not Percival as in the earlier compositions, are the heroes.

praise and thanksgiving, a ray of miraculous light irradiates the Sacred Cup in token of the Divine favour, and, unbrought by earthly hands, every man's cup is found filled with wine and a portion of bread set before him.* This miraculous food is the support of the community. The hallowed Spear may no longer be borne in earthly warfare, and can injure no more in common things, but (by a profound allegory), it is represented as still able to cause in the sinner a wound (as of guilty remorse), which nothing save itself can heal. In the blessed domain of Mount Salvato, the curse of creation is done away: no death is inflicted, and all living creatures are in friendship with man. Even since Titurel himself has descended by age into the grave, and his son Amfortas reigns in his stead, his body still quickens with miraculous life every time the Holy Cup glows before the assembled brethren.

The stability of the religious community of Mount Salvato is the object of undying hatred by the magician Klingsor, once a candidate for admission into its ranks, but rejected on account of sin. He makes his abode in a castle reared of baneful illusion,† and surrounded by evil phantoms of women who lure victims to moral ruin. Closely connected with him is the wretched witch Kundry, a woman condemned, like the wandering Jew, to an indefinite life of misery, the fruit of having once laughed at the Saviour. The irregular struggles of her heart for the better things which would bring her peace, are continually foiled by the malignant efforts of the sorcerer, to which she is especially liable after the fits of death-like sleep which chequer her miserable career; and then screams of demoniacal laughter again usher in

* Those who have passed a Sunday afternoon in Naples may remember the same affecting conception, in the guild who assemble at the outer corner of Sta Lucia, bearing a picture of the Sacrament, and collect alms from the passers by, to provide for the poor the bread which perishes.

† The unreal and illusory character of sinful enjoyment, which probably finds its deepest expression in the language of Buddhist thought, and which Wagner makes so essential a feature in the diabolical portion of *Par-sifal*, is an element which seems to run through all legends of sorcery and records of witch-trials. Hence the French proverbial expression, *beauté du diable*, for beauty, which is doomed almost at once to perish.

a new lapse of wrong. Clothed by him in the fantasmal likeness of a siren, she has succeeded in effecting the ruin of Amfortas, and Klingsor has possessed himself of the Sacred Spear itself of which the King had thus become the unfaithful keeper, and inflicted upon him with its point a wound of unsleeping pain which no touch but its own can heal.

The overture of *Parsifal*, of excessive beauty, leads the mind to the disturbed condition of the brotherhood, soon mingled with the pealing of the hallowed trumpets which the hearer learns afterwards to associate with the manifestations of the Grail. The scene upon which the curtain opens is one of singular artistic perfection. It is as though nature itself revealed the forest bathed in the light of the rising sun, whose beams glitter on the distant surface of the lake, while the morning reveille sounds in the distance from the towers of Mount Salvato. The silent prayer with which the new day is begun by the old knight Gurnemanz and the two squires who have passed the night in the forest, marks from the commencement the religious character of the action. The wounded Amfortas is being carried down to seek some relief by bathing in the lake, but before his arrival the group are startled by the hasty entrance of Kundry. She returns from Arabia with a balm which she has sought in partial repentance, to mitigate the consequences of her own crime, but sinks down, worn out, to sleep, with the piteous appeal that where even wild beasts are safe, the heathen and the sorceress may find rest. While she sleeps, and the King bathes, a wild swan, hailed as the white omen of good, hovers over the lake, and Gurnemanz relates to the Squires the history of the mystic wound, and how when Amfortas knelt in prayer for pardon before the shrine of which he had been the means of alienating and outraging one of the great reliques, a vision had appeared from the Grail, and a voice had bidden him wait for one sent to bring him deliverance, who in innocence should out of folly be made wise through pity. Suddenly the swan falls wounded to death by an arrow, and the brethren, in horror at the profanation, fall angrily upon the archer, who is Percival. Brought up in rough innocence, never having heard even his own father's name, utterly untaught, the sacredness of the spot was unknown to him, and he had shot the

bird from mere boyish instinct of sport, unconscious of the deeper and more sympathetic feelings with which the community regard pain and death among the lower creatures, and the thought of the analogy between physical and moral evil which is to them familiar. Touched by their rebuke, he breaks his bow and arrows in childish sorrow. In the end, Gurnemanz, thinking that to one so guileless, the Holy Grail may make some manifestation of its Power (though Percival himself asks, What the Grail is?) and partly struck by the enigmatic utterances of Kundry, who awakens for a moment before sinking into a deeper sleep, determines to lead him to Mount Salvato. From this point begins that latter portion of the First Act which involves the revelation of the Sacred Cup, and is one of Wagner's noblest and most affecting compositions. While mystic music heralds their approach to the Shrine, the scene in the Theatre itself moves forward through trees and rocks gradually wrapt in darkness. It is perhaps a pity, since so vast a mechanical contrivance was to be set in motion, that the idea of rising could not have been conveyed. The effect in any case is very striking. If the eye be caught in a particular way, the spectator experiences the singular impression that the forest and the mountain are still, but that the Theatre and audience are in motion. When, amid the boom and clangour of Church bells, the light dawns again, one of the most remarkable material resources of the building is discovered. The onlookers are gazing, not upon the painted semblance, but upon the reality, of a great octagonal hall in the late classical or early Byzantine architecture, which is sufficiently harmonious with the time. The roofs seem to be in gold mosaic, the columns of marble, and the pavement of inlaid work. The arches of the central octagon itself are surmounted by a pillared triforium, above which rises the octagonal dome. Beneath the dome, a hollow round table, surrounded by wooden benches, and covered by a white cloth embroidered with red orphreys, bears a row of silver cups. In the centre, raised upon a flight of three steps, is a smaller covered table, shaped somewhat like an Altar, and behind this a couch for the wounded King. In the background is the gilded grille surrounding the grave of Titirel. The Knights now enter in procession through the aisles

and take their places around the circular table, singing an hymn, which is succeeded by another from the unseen chorus of the Squires in the triforium, and again by that of the boys, like a song of Angels, from the height of the dome, celebrating directly the original cause of the sanctity of the Grail. The covered shrine which contains the holy vessel itself is then borne in in procession and placed upon the central table. Amfortas follows it, carried upon his litter, and is laid upon the couch. But no action is taken, and a pause ensues. Suddenly the voice of Titurel from the grave demands the unveiling of the Sacred Cup. Maddened by unceasing pain, Amfortas hinders the lads from obeying, dreading that the power of the relique may serve to protract his life of suffering, and calling only for pardon and for death. In reply, the pure voices of the boys from above repeat the promise of the vision, and the Knights exhort him to patience. The voice of Titurel again commands the ceremony, and the Squires obey. The coverings of the shrine are one by one slowly removed, and at last the hallowed vessel stands exposed upon the table. All kneel in silent and motionless prayer, while darkness shrouds the hall, and the unseen chorus above again rises in praise of the holiness of the relique. Suddenly, supernatural light breaks from above over the table, and a glow appears in the Grail itself, which seems to burn in the midst. Amfortas now fulfils his office, and holds up the Cup to the sight of his brethren. As he replaces it, the miraculous illumination dies away in the Grail and in the hall, and the daylight returns, showing the cups filled with wine and the table spread with bread. The relique is again covered, and the Knights eat the meal, amid a fresh sacred chorus, beginning this time from the height, and, when the Squires have finished, completed by themselves in thanksgiving. The banquet ended, all rise, exchange the kiss of peace, and retire again, amid the renewed sounding of the bells, in the order in which they came. Percival has all the while been gazing as it were stupified at the august ceremony. When Gurnemanz speaks to him, he seems to understand nothing about it, and the old man thrusts him angrily out of the hall. Once more, however, a fresh chorus from above

speaks of hope and peace,* and the curtain is closed amid a renewed movement of the religious music.

The profound impression which this scene leaves upon the hearer, it is difficult, if not impossible, to describe. For some time after it closes, it is irksome to speak or to turn the thoughts to anything else. Its vitality—which is intense—is in the music, and it would be as well, if not better, heard with the eyes shut. Such being the case, it is almost waste of words to criticize the details of its presentment upon the stage. The only result is to show that such creations transcend the material capacities of scenic representation. As a matter of fact, at Bayreuth, the choruses in their ascending heights are not so placed. They are marched across the stage, and have to sing from the sides. The worst feature is that—probably owing to the difficulty or expense, or both, of procuring the boys,—the part of the Pages is taken by women, a circumstance which, besides the vocal disadvantage, produces the ludicrous anomaly of what are obviously women disguised as boys, in the midst of a monastery of men. For some reason difficult to guess, the miraculous appearance of the bread and wine, which would have been easily within the range of mechanical art, is omitted; the bread and wine are brought in in procession, in wicker baskets and silver pitchers, behind the Grail, and distributed by the Squires after they have been held up to the relique and it has been again covered. The Knights also do not make any semblance of eating but seemingly carry off the loaves in their pockets, after each taking a draught of wine. The shrine containing the Grail itself is also a mere box, veiled with a reddish purple cloth, and carried by one young man in both hands; it certainly ought to have been a large shrine borne shoulder-high, as in representations of the carrying of the Ark of the Covenant. It must be admitted, however, that everything else is admirable, especially the effects of light. The means, whatever they are, by which the glow of intense brightness in the Cup is produced, are quite invisible.

The scene of the Second Act is laid in the mass of evil illusions which constitutes the stronghold of Klingsor, and the over-

* So in the performance.

ture expresses the fermentation of passion and excitement by which he triumphs. The magician is alarmed lest the purity of Percival should ultimately work the full restoration of Mount Salvato. The lad, out of mere boyish curiosity, is now approaching the enchanted castle, and Kundry is summoned up by sorcery to undertake his moral corruption. Painfully roused from her death-like lethargy, she rises, a veiled phosphorescent shape, like the 'materializations' familiar to Spiritualists, and from which indeed the idea of the appearance is probably derived. A scene of violence ensues, for she sickens over the task, but the jeering arguments of her evil genius at last sting her to despair; the throes of disgust and remorse grow feebler, and at length convulsive peals of demoniac laughter announce his success, and the poor creature sinks again into the darkness. The unreal building vanishes, and Percival is seen standing upon the brink of the garden of sensual indulgence. It is difficult to gauge the full meaning of this picture as presented at Bayreuth. It is like a third-rate transformation-scene. Lack of money may possibly have had something to do with its mechanical meanness, but hardly with what appears its rough artificialism and garish vulgarity. On the other hand, and putting aside the consideration that such figures as glaring cactus-flowers about three feet in diameter have the effect of dwarfing to the appearance of fairies the girls who enact the nymphs, it is not difficult to imagine a design to convey the notion of essential unreality, and that such a world, however disguised in music and sentiment, is but the region of grossness after all. When Percival descends, wondering, into the garden, the nymphs by whom he is surrounded are not of the type which might have been expected, and which some theatres—unnecessary to specify—seem ready enough to supply. They are tastefully and modestly dressed as living flowers, each clad, as it were, in one large inverted blossom, and, dwarfed by the gigantic scenery, bear a striking resemblance to the fairies of the late Richard Doyle. The music and action are rather plaintive and playful than erotic. It has been observed that the mind of the Blessed Angelico of Fiesole was of a cast so saintly that he is incapable of representing wickedness, and, when he attempts it, becomes merely grotesque.

It may be thought that the refinement of Wagner rendered him incapable of depicting the coarse, and that in entering upon such a theme, he can only be childish. Whether this be so or no, a little consideration will show that in a drama of sustained religious thought such as *Parsifal*, the realistic of this kind would have been impossible, and the idea, as by the garden itself, is only duly to be conveyed through half-mystic indications which are sufficient for the mind. Moreover, the character of Percival, as known to Klingsor, has to be considered. Nothing should be introduced that can begin by startling and alarming his boyish innocence. The aim is rather first to captivate the senses by a seemingly harmless show, underneath which lurks destruction. Such as they are, the living flowers strike him only as the botanical ones might have done. He regards them with a harmless boyish pleasure, which after a little while gives place to annoyance at their importunities, which he does not understand. The first experiment, which is to be regarded rather as a preparation of the mind than any serious attempt, has failed. Percival is about to leave the spot when a voice calls him, which reminds him of his mother. The nymphs withdraw tittering. Kundry, transformed into the phantasm of a siren, is now seen lolling upon a seat of flowers under the gaudy branches. He asks her if she is a plant that grows there? Thereupon begins the famous Temptation-Music. This also is of the most refined kind. The licentiousness is that of Haidee, not of Inez. Kundry begins by talking of his mother and of all her love and sorrow, ending by her lonely death since his departure. Percival is deeply touched. The sorceress proceeds to speak of those new affections which, as men grow up, arise beside and partly take the place of those which have passed into the silence of another world. She tells him of the tenderness and love of woman. Percival, strongly affected by her sympathy, is now kneeling at her knees. Believing the moment to have come to assail the fleshly instinct, she slowly impresses on him a kiss of burning passion. Confused for an instant by the strange sensation aroused, Percival rises instinctively disturbed, and separates from her. Suddenly he realises that this was it which was probably fatal to another

victim whose suffering he has beheld, and, with a strong cry of dread, utters the name of 'Amfortas!' Trembling with excitement, he recalls the agony of the King, which he now begins to comprehend, but the train of thought suddenly leads him to that which gives peace, the recollection of the Holy Grail. The mysterious Castle and the holy relique rise before his mental vision. The theme of its sacred music now shapes the utterances of his memory. For the first time we hear that as he gazed as though dumbfounded upon the august solemnity, he had heard a voice—whence he knew not, and whose meaning he understood not—bidding him go rescue another holy thing now held in profanation. He blames himself for this idle straying—and suddenly falls upon his knees calling for pardon and strength in prayer. Kundry rises and approaches him, but his mind is now roused to an agony of terror, and he thrusts her from him. The witch then actually appeals to religion. She does not disguise her own wretched history. She adjures him, in mercy and in pity towards even one so lost to have compassion on her. His touch can make her clean. Percival, now seeing the truth in clearness, answers her that her redemption cannot flow from the same spring which is the source of her misery, that to her indeed he can offer a message of deliverance, but it is not by making him a sharer in her own condemnation, but through repentance, and by a change of heart which shall begin by healing Amfortas. The last and despairing temptation that if thus enlightened by her very kiss, she is ready to make him as a god, knowing both good and evil, falls unanswered and unheeded. She bursts into a whirlwind of demoniac fury, full of imprecations and curses, and finally shrieks to Klingsor to bring the Spear. The magician, believing from her cry that Percival has fallen, aims at him the hallowed Spear with which the Centurion once pierced the Saviour's Side, and which now, withdrawn from carnal warfare, can cause in the sinner the ever-gnawing wound which only itself can heal. The holy weapon quivers in the air. The lad merely takes it in his hand, and as the sacred theme of the Grail music again breaks forth, makes with it the sign of the Cross. In the twinkling of an eye the whole fabric of evil illusion

passes away with a crash, leaving the true desert of withered barrenness displayed, and the baffled sorceress prostrate on the earth. And as Percival goes away, bearing the Holy Spear, he pauses for a moment to remind her that she knows where only she can meet him again.

Into the Third Act, which presents the final exaltation of Percival, would seem to have been poured all the expression of the highest feelings of which the colossal genius of Wagner was capable. Under the curse of the sorceress, Percival, instead of returning directly with the Holy Spear to Mount Salvato, has been wandering, but, while toiling in battles of righteousness, and faithfully guarding the sacred relique, has, in his innocence, out of folly been made wise through pity. Kundry has learnt to repent. But the brotherhood of Mount Salvato is breaking up. Amfortas, in the vain search for death to end his misery, altogether refuses to unveil the Grail. For himself it brings no remedy, he still survives to suffer, but the life which it supported has just been quenched in Titurel. The Knights are no longer called out on high errands, and are scattered in search of bread. To the hearer, however, the overture, which at first speaks of the decay and sorrow of Mount Salvato, speaks hope also as it recurs at last to the holy theme of the Grail. The scene opens on the hut by a spring whither the aged Knight Gurnemanz has retreated. The morning reveille is again sounding from the Castle. It is the morning of Titurel's funeral, to which the scattered Knights have been bidden to assemble, but it is also the morning of Good Friday. That this profound idea is mocked at Bayreuth by a very poor arrangement of mechanical scenery, which, if it represented anything, would represent an impossible late summer or early autumn, is a matter which, in view of the thought, may be passed over at once. When Percival himself, at a later moment, mournfully contrasts the glory of the spring morning with the mental gloom of the Day of Agony, Gurnemanz bids him view the phenomenon of nature with the thought that, on the Day of Reconciliation, sinless creation is smiling unconsciously upon redeemed man.

Gurnemanz is attracted by the groans of Kundry, who has crawled by inspiration to the blessed domain, and is lying worn

out in a thicket. She is utterly changed, and attired in the robe of a penitent. She seeks nothing but the humblest work,* and sets about bringing water from the fountain to the cell. Presently Percival enters, in black armour, and with his face hidden, still carrying the Holy Spear, which he plants in the earth. Gurnemanz does not know him, and reminds him of the sanctity alike of the place and of the day, which forbid the bearing of carnal weapons, in reverence of Him Who suffered defenceless for us. Percival sits down, lays aside his shield, and bares his head, then kneels long in prayer before the sacred weapon. He rises filled with inspiration, but still partially unconscious through humility, and moves slowly forward to that which is the climax of the whole drama—his Kingly appointment, through the power of moral victory, to work deliverance for others. Gurnemanz, who has recognized him while he prayed, greets him and tells him of the affliction of the sanctuary. Percival, groaning aloud in his humility, seats himself beside the well. Gurnemanz and Kundry strip him of the armour of earthly warfare. She washes his feet and the old man sprinkles water on his head. Suddenly the penitent brings out a phial of ointment, anoints Percival's feet, and wipes them with the hair of her head. Presently he takes the phial and hands it to Gurnemanz, bidding him anoint him; and Gurnemanz taking the phial, anoints him King in Mount Salvato.

Percival immediately baptizes Kundry.

She sinks upon the earth, prostrate in tears of thanksgiving. When, after a time, she rises, he gives her an holy kiss. Then the bells of the Castle begin to sound for the funeral of Titurel. Gurnemanz brings forth the robe of the Order, which he himself has not been wearing since his voluntary exile, and invests Percival in it. Thus clad, he takes the Holy Spear, and, followed by the ancient Knight and the repentant woman, goes forth to assume the seat of his Kingdom.

Upon this sublime conception of Wagner, it is almost needless

* This is the celebrated occasion on which Wagner keeps the *prima donna* upon the stage during an whole Act, without her uttering more than two words, but the acting of Fräulein Malten, in particular, is so deeply impressive than it seems as if no language could add to its effect.

to make any remark. The unction of Percival, by a little band which rises above all assemblies, suggests irresistibly the thought of the crowning of David in Hebron, but the yet more significant act of the repentant woman reminds the hearer that every disciple who is perfect shall be as his Master.*

The whole body of the stage scenery is then again mechanically changed as in the First Act, but inversing the order. The darkness fades away, and the great hall of the Castle is again before the eyes of the spectator—but no tables are now spread to receive the miraculous banquet. The Knights, their helmets no longer covered by their hoods, and followed by the entire community, enter in funeral procession bearing the corpse of Titurel, which is set down before the table of the Grail. With the covered shrine carried before him, Amfortas is brought in upon his litter and laid upon the couch. Cries of reproach are addressed to the King, but when the bier is uncovered he only adjures the spirit of that father whose death he has himself caused, to obtain through its prayers his deliverance by death, from suffering. The whole community once more demand that he shall fulfil his office and expose the relique. But the prospect of the last relief is too near—he throws himself forward among the Knights, bares his breast, and bids them slay him—uncover the life-giving Grail, he will not. At this moment Percival, Gurnemanz and Kundry, enter the hall unperceived, and the new King touches Amfortas' wound with the iron which once pierced the Saviour's Side. The wound is instantly healed. Then, as Percival holds aloft in triumph the blessed weapon, a miraculous crimson glow, memorial of the Divine Blood, appears upon it. As it fades, he commands the uncovering of the Grail. All sink upon their knees. Darkness shrouds the hall. The ceremony proceeds as usual, amid its sacred music. Suddenly, blinding sheets of light descend upon the motionless and adoring assembly. The Holy Vessel glows again in the midst like a gigantic ruby. Percival arises and lifts it up in sight of the brotherhood. A heavenly dove descends

*The very remarkable physiognomy of Herr Vogl emphasizes the impression.

from on high and floats on silvery wings above the miraculous Chalice. Almost unseen, the poor sin-worn woman has crawled on her knees to the foot of the steps, and, when her eyes rest upon the Sacred Cup, her sorrows sleep in death.* Voices of unseen choirs hymn the work of mercy and restoration. There is no room here to criticize the representation. The eye is not satisfied with seeing, nor the ear filled with hearing.

The fact is, however, that a conception so tremendous is hardly fitted for representation upon any stage. The ideas roused by the thought, and by the music which interprets it, are of such a character that any *mise-en-scène*, however perfect, must almost necessarily serve—as an whole—to hamper and cripple the imagination. Those who were so happy as to hear even the mutilated version of *Parsifal* performed as an Oratorio in the Albert Hall two years ago, had an opportunity of more thoroughly appreciating the music which is the life of the creation. Not only was there no spectacle to distract the mind, and the choirs were more perfect, e.g., by the use of male voices, but the vast size of the building enabled the effect of the bodies of singers in the First, and, to a certain extent, in the last Act, elevated one above the other, to be given with full scope.

The intellectual effort of the hearer is, as may be gathered, considerable. The result is somewhat that which is said to occur in patients frequently subjected to the mesmeric sleep. The artificial existence becomes continuous. So his real life becomes centred in the opera. The obtrusive discomfort of existence in Bayreuth sinks into a detail, an annoying dream to be forgotten as soon as possible. Beginning in the middle of the afternoon and ending late at night, the representation consumes a great part of the actual, and still more of the conscious day. And it must be remembered, that, besides the period of the performance, considerable time is necessarily spent in preparatory study; and that the thought and the conversation—so much of the latter as there is—of those who have formed and are again to form the audience, are naturally saturated by the subject. From the

* According to the text, the corpse of Titurel rises for a moment in its coffin, but this is not done in the performance.

morning, the approaching representation stands out as the object of the day. The things needful are done. The time approaches. The hearer joins the crowds which are streaming up the little hill towards the great dull-red building. Presently he is in his place in the large plain auditorium. A while and the lights are lowered. The audience settle themselves and the buzz of conversation dies away. Darkness ensues. The closing doors shut out the last glimpses of daylight. There is an hush, followed by silence and stillness. And presently the first notes are heard. Another six hours of intense enjoyment has begun.

ART. V.—THE FISHERY QUESTION—A CANADIAN VIEW.

1. *Record of the proceedings of the Halifax Fisheries Commission 1877.*
2. *Sessional Papers of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada from Confederation, 1st July 1867 to 1885.*
3. *Review of President Grant's Recent Message (1870) to the United States Congress, relative to the Canadian Fisheries, and the Navigation of the St. Lawrence River.* By the Hon. PETER MITCHELL, Minister of Marine and Fisheries in the Dominion Cabinet, from 1867 to 1874.
4. *Report on the Fishery Articles of Treaties between Great Britain and the United States.* By W. F. WHITCHER, Commissioner of Fisheries, Canada.
5. *Annual Reports of the Department of Fisheries, Canada, 1867 to 1885.*

AS a preliminary to the discussion on which it is proposed to enter in this paper, it will be convenient to supply some data from which a partial idea—for it can be but partial—may be formed of the extent and value of the great industry—the Fisheries on the Atlantic coasts of British North America.

The following figures represent the total value of the fisheries of Canada for the year 1885 : *

* See *Official Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries. Canada 1885.*

Nova Scotia	...	...	\$8,283,922	87
New Brunswick	...	...	4,005,431	29
Quebec	...	...	1,719,459	61
Prince Edward Island	...	...	1,293,429	64
British Columbia	...	...	1,078,038	00
Ontario	...	...	1,342,691	77

\$17,722,973, 18

To this sum must be added the value of the Newfoundland fisheries, estimated in the British case used before the Halifax Commission in 1877, at \$6,000,000, making a total of, say \$23,722,973, or about £5,500,000 sterling. The Newfoundland figures were probably considerably larger in 1886 than in 1877.

The following table (p. 311), shows the Number, Tonnage and Value of Vessels and Boats; Value of Fishing Material, etc., and number of Men engaged in Fishing in the several Provinces of the Dominion, during the Year 1882.*

Taking in Newfoundland as before, we must add, men 15,000,† and value \$6,000,000. As Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland are the Provinces most interested in the Fishery Question; I shall omit all reference to Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, the North West Territories, and British Columbia. The enormous consequence of the fishing to the four Atlantic Provinces, will be seen when we consider that their populations are as follows:—Nova Scotia, 441,000; New Brunswick, 322,000; Prince Edward Island, 109,000; Newfoundland, 162,000—in all, 1,034,000. Take from these the fisheries, and they would speedily become bankrupt. Every concession of liberty to the Americans to fish on their preserves is so much hard cash taken directly out of their pockets. Broadly speaking, out of a population of a million, sixty thousand people devote themselves entirely to the pursuit of this industry, deriving from it their only means of livelihood, and

* See *Official Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries*. Canada 1885.

† *Report of the Proceedings of the Halifax Commissioners*, p. 300.

THE NUMBER, TONNAGE, AND VALUE OF VESSELS AND BOATS; VALUE FISHING MATERIAL, ETC.,
AND NUMBER OF MEN ENGAGED IN FISHING IN THE SEVERAL PROVINCES OF THE DOMINION,
DURING THE YEAR 1885.*

Provinces.	Men.		Vessels and Steam Tugs.		Boats.		Gill Nets.		Trap and Pound Nets, Weirs and Brush Fisheries.		Lobster factories, freezers and other fixtures. App.	Total Value.
	Number.		Number.	Tonnage.	Value.	Number.	Fathoms.	Value.	Number.	Value.		
Nova Scotia.....	29,905		711	31,285	\$ cts. 1,428,308	12,698		\$ cts. 316,677	916	\$ cts. 233,730	\$ cts. 464,745	\$ cts. 3,010,000
New Brunswick..	10,185		196	8,297	78,836	4,879		147,567	232	112,690	495,428	1,075,879
P. E. Island.....	3,535		63	2,044	55,900	1,039		34,625	1	1,600	376,369	493,143
Quebec	11,322		160	8,734	340,679	7,949		207,268	2,011	126,048	115,378	930,358
Ontario	2,716		23	2,523	63,310	1,045		121,863	213	71,765	25,114	378,274
British Columbia	1,530		34	845	54,600	867		141,850	.....	.....	580,380	800,805
Totals	59,493		1,177	48,728	2,021,633	28,472		852,257	3,373	545,823	2,058,462	6,697,459

* See Official Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, Canada, 1885.

producing yearly five and a half millions sterling. Newfoundland, it may be said, subsists almost wholly on her fisheries.

The inhabitants of the British Isles will cease therefore to express surprise, or exhibit impatience when they see the Canadian or Newfoundlander resenting with warmth any attempt by the grasping and unscrupulous American, to interfere with the means by which he gains a by no means luxurious support for himself and his family. He knows from tradition, from history, and from personal experience, that his possessions, as honestly and as completely his own as the County of Kent in England is the property of its freeholders, have ever since the Americans became independent been their envy and desire. He knows that the most absurd theories of international law, have been devised in favour of their demands for the right to fish in his preserves:—that American statesmen have exhausted all the resources of illogical reasoning and audacious averment in urging these demands upon the statesmen of Great Britain; that by persistence, and the free use of the element so familiar with them in their negotiation with Britain, but so little understood by British gentlemen—bluff—they have over and over again obtained concessions from Great Britain to which they had not a shadow of right, for which they gave no equivalent, which robbed the hardy fishermen of our Atlantic Provinces, and which the easy-going British Colonial Minister could defend only on the weak and degrading plea that he had yielded to importunity, and in the interests of peace and good neighbourhood. The Canadian fisherman has never been able to submit quietly to this policy. He has time after time reproached British Ministries for their spiritless submission to American impudence. He has pointed out to them in language as vigorous as the red tape style of diplomatic platitudes will permit, that they were the custodians of the rights of others, that with their own property they might deal as they pleased, but that with the property of others the simplest principles of common honesty dictated vigorous resistance to all attempts at spoliation. But these protests often fell on unwilling ears. In those days the Colonies counted for little in Imperial policy; the Americans counted for much, and as they

had reduced "bluff" to a system, the weak-kneed Colonial Minister complacently gave away the property of the Canadian, which he was in honour bound to protect. This is strong language, and is perhaps neither diplomatic nor parliamentary; but I shall show from official documents, before I reach the end of this paper, that it is literally and to the fullest extent the simple truth. I am now putting before the British reader the actual feeling of Canada on this subject, and the recent events on our Atlantic Coast compel us to speak out plainly and loudly. If we hold over peace, the inglorious yielding will be repeated, and our 60,000 fishermen of the Maritime Provinces will again become the victims of the incapacity and carelessness of British Ministers, on the one hand, and of American greed and unscrupulousness on the other.

The following extracts may be received in Britain as accurately expressing Canadian opinions on this point. The first gives the utterances of the Hon. Peter Mitchell, a New Brunswick by birth—a practising barrister for many years in his native Province, where he rose to the position of a member of the Executive Council, and then to that of President, which he held until the Canadian Confederation, 1st July 1867, of which scheme he was a warm supporter. He was appointed Minister of Marine and Fisheries in the first Dominion Cabinet, a position which he held until the defeat of Sir John Macdonald's Government in November 1874. No Canadian more thoroughly understands either the history of the Fishery question, or the importance of the industry; and his outspoken defence of Canadian rights, while holding the responsible position of Minister of Marine and Fisheries, clothed in diplomatic language, in 1867, is now continued in 1886, but in the more vigorous style of an acute and determined business man, untrammelled by the restraints of official routine. The liberties granted to the Americans, under the Washington Treaty of 1871, expired on 1st July 1885, but by the indulgence of the British Ministry the term of final expiration was deferred to the spring of 1886. This indulgence had the usual effect of rendering the American fishermen still more pertinacious in their invasion of Canadian rights, and in May last the Dominion Government having be-

come to some extent freed from the pressure of the Colonial Minister in Downing Street, seized an American vessel, the *David J. Adams*, for an infraction of the provisions of the Treaty of 1818. In a conversation last June at Montreal, Mr. Mitchell then expressed himself to an American :—

‘This matter must be settled as Canada wants it settled, or not at all. It will not be as England says but as Canada wishes, the Granvilles and Kimberleys to the contrary notwithstanding. England dare not oppose us in this. We know our rights, and will maintain them at whatever cost. I do not infer that Canada desires a tilt with the United States ; on the contrary, the interests of the two countries are so closely allied that it is to our interest to be on the most friendly terms. I do not think there is anything in the present situation to give cause to serious apprehension, and I believe the whole matter will be adjusted amicably ; but in the meantime certain things must be considered. I know American statesmen regard Canada simply as a dependency of Great Britain and will be forced to do just as she says. They were never more mistaken. We have a large country and the time has passed when our rights can be ignored by the Mother Country. The Canada of to-day is not the Canada of twenty years ago, and the English leaders will make the discovery if they attempt to trifle with our interests. . . . What Canada will demand in the event of a conference,’ he continued, ‘is a free entry for fish into American ports ; also for lumber and other commodities ; in other words, something commensurate with the privileges Canada grants the United States. Unless something is granted by the American Congress, your fishermen will be driven forcibly, if necessary, out of our waters. No party could remain in power a day in Canada that would permit any other course.’

The other extract is from the report of a speech made by Sir John Macdonald, Premier of Canada, on 25th August last, at Winnipeg, Manitoba. Sir John was returning to Ottawa after visiting Victoria, British Columbia, by the Canadian Pacific Railway. In the course of his remarks, after speaking of the natural wealth of British Columbia as represented by her valuable minerals and timber, he added :—

‘Then you have, besides these, great fisheries. We speak a great deal of the fisheries of the Atlantic coast ; we think so much of them, and the Americans think so much of them, that they are always quarrelling for the sake of fishing in our grounds. They are not going to do that, gentlemen. With respect to those fisheries on the Atlantic coast, I may say there is no question to settle. It is the law of nations, besides there is a special treaty that Americans must not come within three miles of the coast. We must

keep our fish for our own fishermen. We offered the Americans free trade; but they, for some political purpose or other, or a feeling of irritation against the Mother Country, not against us, put an end to the treaty I had something to do with making. All we said was, Very well, we will allow you to fish in our water as long as you keep your markets open, but if you will not allow our fish to go into your market, we will not allow your fishermen to go into our waters. That is one of the matters we have some cause to be proud of. As one of the Commissioners to settle the Washington treaty I was principally responsible for the arrangement of the fishery clauses, and all the clauses that concern Canada in that treaty. When I came back you remember how I was attacked and sometimes called 'Judas Iscariot' and sometimes 'Benedict Arnold,' for allowing the Americans for money to go and fish in our waters. For a year after that treaty was signed I stood silent in the storm of abuse. . . . We went out before the arbitration took place; and we were told that Canada would not touch a farthing of the wretched money, the 'thirty pieces of silver,' for which we had sold the honor and the territorial rights of Canada. But when Mr. Mackenzie formed the arbitration, he took as his colleague Sir Alexander Galt, who was certainly not a Grit. We got the award—\$5,500,000—under the treaty; and, strange to say, those gentlemen (Mr. Mackenzie, for instance), who said they looked with loathing on the idea of taking the money, were very glad of the arbitration for getting the money. Their own Minister of Marine and Fisheries, who was responsible for getting the arbitration and carrying out the result, was honoured by Her Majesty and got a handle to his name and the order of St. Michael and St. George, because Sir Alexander Galt had made a good treaty. Well, he took the title, and we took the money, and the Yankees have never forgiven us for having the best of the bargain. That was perhaps one reason why we got notice to stop the treaty. We got the money, and, strange to say, the gentlemen of the Maritime Provinces who abused very much the arrangement and said they did not want to enter the American market, and that the Americans should be kept out of our waters, these same gentlemen took up the cry, charging us with neglecting our duty because we did not force the Americans to make a new treaty and allow Americans to enter our market without demanding compensation.'

These are the words of the First Minister of the Crown in Canada, and coming from him at the very moment when negotiations are actively going on respecting the Fishery difficulties, between the British and American Governments, they are weighty words. That they express the universal sentiment of Canada, without regard to party there can be no doubt; and the English journals which declare, as some have already done, that Britain would not fire a shot at the United States

for all the fisheries of the Dominion, are lamentably ignorant of the temper of Canada on this subject if they suppose she will submit to her rights being again sacrificed, as they have too often been, through the love of ease, or the apathy of a British Ministry.

I propose to show in this paper :

(1.) That the Americans have ever since they became a nation, claimed *rights*—not *privileges* or *liberties*—but *rights* in these Fisheries of the most extravagant and unreasonable nature.

(2.) That they have pertinaciously persisted in these demands, knowing them to be extravagant and unreasonable, hoping by persistence to worry the British Government into concessions to which they had no just claim either by international law, by treaty, or by any rule of morality, or even of good neighbourhood.

(3.) That they have in this way obtained numerous concessions from British Ministries, always without the consent of the real owners, the people of the British Provinces, and also always to their loss and injury.

(4.) That these British Ministries have been faithless to their trust; that they have pandered to the greed and dishonesty of the American fishermen; that they have exhibited gross ignorance of the value and importance of the Fisheries both to the Canadians and to themselves; that they have listlessly, apathetically, and weakly given to the American the bread which belonged to the hard-working and loyal Newfoundlander, Nova Scotian, New Brunswicker, and the hardy fisherman of Prince Edward Island; that they have treated the Canadian authorities with ill-disguised contempt, but that now Canada will insist upon a complete change of this degrading and ruinous policy, and will demand that no new agreement with the American be made without her assent.

The history of these Fisheries is short and simple. But for the clouds of illogical reasoning and extravagant pretension raised by American diplomacy in the interest of American fishermen, the Fishery question would be as brief and as simple as the history of the Fisheries themselves.

France was the first European owner of them. On her expulsion by Great Britain from the northern portion of North America, she, by the Treaty of Paris (10th February, 1763), gave up to her conqueror all these possessions, excepting the little group of islands near the southern coast of Newfoundland, the chief of which are Miquelon and St. Pierre. From that period to the Treaty of 1783, by which the independence of the United States was recognized by Great Britain, the American colonists, being still under the government of Britain, used the Fisheries in common with all other British subjects. In settling the terms of this Treaty, the Americans began their system of extravagant demand. It will doubtless surprise the general reader to hear that they then propounded the doctrine, that the *deep-sea fisherman, pursuing the free-swimming fish of the ocean with his net, or his leaded line, not touching shores or troubling the bottom of the sea, is no trespasser, though he approach within three miles of a coast, by any established, recognised law of nations.* They attempted to force the recognition of this proposition upon the British negotiators. Its extravagance was transparent. Such a rule would entirely destroy the territorial rights which every country possesses in the sea washing its shores. It was rejected absolutely and unqualifiedly by Great Britain, who while admitting the right of the Americans to fish any where in the sea,* resolutely refused to countenance the monstrous claim. The Americans knew it was monstrous quite as well as their opponents, but they hoped by persistent "bluff" to obtain something from the easy going Briton. At this early period the average Englishman knew almost nothing of the value of the Fisheries, he cared less for the few Colonists who were obtaining a wretched livelihood from them, and rather than prolong discussion he was willing to give his grasping opponent something 'to shut his mouth.' This familiar expression is in diplomatic language euphemistically changed into the elegant formula 'in the interests of peace and good neighbourhood.'

* By this is meant deep sea-fishing and beyond the three mile limit to be noticed hereafter.

But this extravagance was surpassed by another proposition, if possible, still more extravagant. It was vehemently insisted that, as the French had been dispossessed by the assistance of the Colonies, notably by Massachusetts, they were in a certain sense tenants in common of the fisheries with Britain, and that, though they had rebelled, and had refused to perform the duties of subjects, still they were entitled to the benefits attaching to loyal subjects—in other words, that though now independent, they were, so far at least as the fisheries were concerned, entitled to equal rights with the subjects of Great Britain. It can hardly be credited that so unreasonable a demand could emanate from a reasonable human being, but it was seriously made and seriously argued with great ability by the Americans; and though instantly rejected by Great Britain, it was never abandoned in terms by the United States, but was strongly urged before the Halifax Commission in 1877, and is doubtless still in reserve for use by American diplomacy.

Thus at the very outset of their course as an independent power, did the Americans institute the policy of unscrupulous aggrandisement in their dealings with these Fisheries. And what did Great Britain do? She yielded, and thus on her part instituted the policy of encouragement to the American policy. She began the system of concessions on which she has been acting from 1783 to 1885, and agreed to Article III. which reads as follows:

‘It is agreed, that the people of the United States shall continue to enjoy unmolested the right to take fish of every kind on the Grand Bank and on all the other banks of Newfoundland: also in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and at all other places in the sea, where the inhabitants of both countries used at any time heretofore to fish. And also that the inhabitants of the United States shall have liberty to take fish of every kind on such part of the coast of Newfoundland, as British fishermen shall use (but not to dry or cure the same on that Island) and also on the coasts, bays, and creeks of all other of His Britannic Majesty’s dominions in America; and that the American fishermen shall have liberty to dry and cure fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbors, and creeks of Nova Scotia, Magdalen Islands, and Labrador, so long as the same shall remain unsettled; but so soon as the same, or either of them shall be settled, it shall not be lawful for the said fishermen to dry or cure fish at such settlement, without a previous agree-

ment for that purpose with the inhabitants, proprietors, or possessors of the ground.'

In order to understand the first clause it must be remembered that Britain had claimed the extravagant right to control on every sea. This is the first instance in which she, in terms, renounced it, so that in effect she here yields nothing which she was entitled to hold. But the next clause gave the Americans not only special privileges valuable in themselves, but far more valuable in the eyes of the calculating and astute Americans by reason of the fact that they gave them a foothold as well on British territory as on British fishing grounds. Of this foothold they made excellent use as will be presently seen. What equivalent did America give for these valuable privileges? Nothing whatever. It is almost incredible, but it is a fact that these privileges were granted without the slightest compensation—whether in the payment of a royalty, or of license fees, or of some corresponding liberty to trade with the United States. Britain absolutely refused to recognise any one, or any tittle of the claims put forward by the Americans, and yet, it would seem, in mere wantonness gave up the rights of the Colonial fishermen as a free gift! It may be asked 'But if the supply of fish was inexhaustible, as it is understood to be, what harm accrued to the Colonist?' This harm, and it was a very serious one:—the most profitable markets for the fish were the American ports, but when the Colonist proposed to convey his catch to those markets, he was met with a heavy duty, while his American companion who had fished by his side, took his fish in free. The result, of course, was that this valuable foreign market was closed to him—all because the British Government had blindly, or carelessly, or ignorantly, sacrificed him to American greed.

This condition of affairs remained undisturbed until the war of 1812. At its close the Americans renewed their old arguments; claimed free fishing everywhere; ignored all territorial rights; and boldly demanded not a renewal of the treaty of 1783, but, as I have said, free fishing in all the waters of the British Atlantic Coast. The eyes of the British Ministers seem by this time to have been opened. They now saw the

grievous error into which they had fallen, and acquired some faint idea that they had been faithless to the trust with which they were charged, as custodians of the rights of the Colonists. An energetic diplomatic fight between the Hon. John Quincey Adams, on the American side, and Earl Bathurst ensued. Circumstances had changed. The Colonial possessions had since 1783 become thickly populated, and there were not so many unsettled bays, harbours and creeks as formerly; the ruinous effects of the one sided free trade, which had so unfortunately been granted to the Americans in 1783, had become so apparent, and so oppressive that Ministers were compelled to reconsider their policy. The spirit of the Colonists was also aroused, but, what was of far more consequence to the Ministerial mind, the English merchants engaged in the Fisheries strongly protested against a renewal of the privileges granted by the Treaty of 1783. At the first meeting of the Commissioners, which was held 8th August 1814, the British stated that their 'Government did not intend to grant to the United States gratuitously, the privileges formerly granted to them by Treaty of fishing within the limits of British territory, or of using the shores of the British territories for purposes connected with the fisheries.'* The United States Commissioners claimed that the Treaty of 1783 conferred no new rights upon the United States:—that it was merely an agreement as to a division of property, which took place on the division of the British Empire after the success of the American Revolution, and was in no respect abrogated by the war. The British Commissioners, on the other hand, insisted that while the Treaty of 1783 recognised the rights of the United States to the deep-sea fisheries, it conferred privileges as to the inshore fisheries, and the use of the shores which were lost by the declaration of war.† It was argued by Earl Bathurst that by the law of nations, when war was declared in 1812 by the United States against Great Britain, every right she possessed

* British Case, *Proceedings of the Halifax Commission*, 1877, p. 56.

† Brief on behalf of the United States, *Proceedings of the Halifax Commission*, 1877, p. 103.

under the Treaty of 1783 was abrogated, and, except so far as it was agreed by the parties that the *status quo ante bellum* should exist, it ceased to exist. The *status*, which is commonly called by writers *uti possidetis*, the position in which the Treaty found them, alone existed after the Treaty of 1814 was concluded.* The British Ministry having, doubtless, the fear of the British merchant—not of the poor Colonial fisherman, before their eyes, adhered to this—undoubtedly the true doctrine, and insisted that as the war of 1812 abrogated, so far as the fisheries were concerned, the Treaty of 1783, and that, as this was the only agreement ever had respecting them, the situation was simply this, that Britain owned all the fishing rights of her North Atlantic coasts, and that the Americans had not a tittle of right in any one of them.

Britain was now free from her unwise agreements with the United States, and was again at liberty to do full justice to her loyal Colonists, and to administer faithfully and manfully the important trusts she had voluntarily undertaken to perform. After much discussion, neither party yielding, it was found impossible to settle any terms as to the Fisheries, and the Treaty of Ghent (24th December 1814) was signed containing no reference to them.

Orders were now despatched to the Governors of the Atlantic Colonies to prevent American fishermen from using British territory for purposes connected with the fisheries, and to exclude their fishing vessels from the harbours, bays, rivers and creeks of all British possessions. The naval officers on the Halifax station were instructed to resist all encroachment on the rights of Britain on the part of American fishermen. So far, Britain was taking the proper course, upholding her own rights to the fullest extent, protecting the Colonial fisherman, and teaching the lawless American that he must obey the law. But the latter had so long been permitted to act as he pleased: he had so deeply imbibed the extravagant doctrines of American statesmen who had from the first, and were even

* Argument of Hon. Mr. Thompson, Counsel for New Brunswick. *Ibid.* 372.

then, stoutly contending that they had equal rights with British subjects in all the Fisheries, that he persisted in encroachment.

But the British Cabinet, still pursuing the unwise policy of offering gratuitous benefits, and following up a friendly intimation which they had given to Mr. Adams during the discussion, proposed to Mr. Munro, the American Secretary of State at the time, through Mr. Bagot, the British Minister at Washington, to allot to American fishermen the use of a district of shore on the Labrador coast, from Mount Joly to the Bay of Esquimaux, near the Straits of Belle Isle. This, Mr. Munro thought insufficient for the purposes of shelter and of drying and curing. Mr. Bagot then offered a portion of the southern coast of Newfoundland, from Cape Ray eastward to the Rameau Islands, which Mr. Munro also declined as inadequate, and in December 1816, Mr. Bagot offered the use to American fishermen, in common with the British, of both these districts. This offer was neither accepted nor declined, the American Government desiring time to obtain information as to the suitability of the localities. During all this time the Americans were poaching—preferring the risk of capture to abandonment of their practices, and trusting rather to the fears of the British authorities than to their leniency, to escape the confiscation of their vessels and equipments. It is not surprising that these fishermen were so bold in defying the British power. They had in fact been invited by British weakness to do so. They had seen the British Government sacrifice the interests of the Colonial fishermen by giving those of the United States the privileges of the treaty of 1783 without the slightest equivalent; they knew that their own Government had claimed equal rights in all the Fisheries with Britain, and they naturally concluded that Britain conceded these privileges believing that her title was a doubtful one, and hoping by the concession to stave off the day when the question must be settled conclusively for all time.* We have seen that the Americans continued to

* It may safely be asserted that at this moment ninety-nine hundredths of the people of the United States, honestly believe this, and we need not therefore be surprised at the warmth exhibited by their newspapers in de-

assert their right to a joint ownership all the while from 1783; that they insisted on it in 1814, and we shall see that in every dealing with the British Government respecting the Fisheries they have shaken aloft these really absurd pretensions, and have succeeded time and again in wresting from British statesmen by means of this 'bluff,' very valuable privileges. So this system of yielding has done no good whatever, but on the contrary has produced serious and extensive evils. It has kept open a question which by resolute defiance on the part of Britain would have been closed a century ago; it has encouraged American statesmen in keeping alive their preposterous demands, and the American fisherman in his determined poaching; it has seriously injured the Colonial fishermen, and it has had the effect of producing periodical disturbances of trade relations which have worked great loss both to American and to British dealers.

As already stated, seizure of American fishing vessels began to be made immediately after the cessation of the war of 1812, and in the month of June 1817, so defiant had the Americans become that twenty of their vessels were seized at one spot, Ragged Island, on the Nova Scotian coast. This large seizure compelled the American Government to take action of some description or other. Accordingly in 1818, the President of the United States proposed to the British Ministry that negotiations should be opened for the purpose of arriving at an amicable settlement of the points in dispute. Commissioners were appointed, Mr. Albert Gallatin, the American Minister to France, and Mr. Richard Rush, the American Minister to Great Britain by the American Government, and Mr. Frederick John Robinson, and Mr. Henry Goulburn by the British. The position of the contestants at this moment, from the American point of view, was thus stated by Mr. Dana, one of the Counsel for the United States in his closing argument before the Halifax Commission in 1877.

nouncing what they call the high handed proceedings of the British and Canadian Governments in the seizure and confiscation of their fishing vessels. The weak and halting policy of British statesmen should bear all the blame of this.

' Well, in 1814, the parties could not agree, and it went on in that way until 1818, and then came a compromise, and nothing but a compromise. The introduction to the Treaty of 1818 says :—"Whereas differences have arisen respecting the liberty claimed by the United States and inhabitants thereof to take, dry and cure fish in certain coasts, harbours, creeks, and bays of His Majesty's Dominions in America, it is agreed between the high contracting parties"—it is all based upon "differences" and all "agreed." Now, the position of the two parties was this; the people of the United States said, "We own these fisheries just as much to day as we did the day we declared war." Great Britain did not declare war, nor did she make a conquest. The declaration of war was from Washington—from the Congress of the United States, and it ended by a Treaty which said nothing about fisheries, leaving us where we were. The ground taken by the United States was that the common right in the fisheries, irrespective of the three-mile limit, or any thing else, belonged to us still. Great Britain said, "No, you lost them;" not by war, because Earl Bathurst is careful to say that the war did not deprive us of the fisheries, but the war ended the treaty, and the fisheries were appended solely to the treaty, and when the treaty was removed, away went the fisheries. Now, it is a singular thing, in examining this treaty, to find that there is nothing said about our right to take fish on the banks in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and in the deep sea. The Treaty of 1783 referred to that, among other things, and it is well known that Great Britain claimed more than a jurisdiction over three miles. She claimed general jurisdiction and authority over the high seas, to which she appended no particular limit, and her claim admitted of no limit. You were told by my learned associate, Judge Foster,* that in those days they arrested one of our vessels at a distance of sixty miles from the shore, claiming that we were within the "King's Chambers." Nothing is said in that Treaty upon the subject. It is an implied concession that all those rights belong to the United States, with which England would not undertake after that to interfere. And then we stood in this position—that we had used the fisheries, though we did not border upon the seas, from 1620 to 1818, in one and the same manner, under one and the same right; and if the general dominion of the seas was shifted, it was still subject to the American right and liberty to fish.'

These views have been held by all American statesmen, and they were in effect, in language little short of rudeness, reproduced in the annual message of President Grant in 1870.†

The negotiations just referred to ended in the celebrated Convention of 1818. This document, to the general reader,

* The Agent of the United States at the Halifax Commission.

† *Review of President Grant's recent Message*, by the Hon. P. Mitchell.

is plain and simple, and yet volumes have been written—thousands of speeches have been delivered—numerous learned and voluminous judgments have been pronounced by judges of the highest standing on its interpretation, and Americans have been driven into the use of the most illogical reasoning in their almost frantic attempts to escape from its plain, fair, and reasonable construction. Around it have stormed American speakers in Congress; American writers in books, magazines, and newspapers; American statesmen in formal diplomatic notes; and the mass of the American people in their daily denunciations of British assumption and Canadian impudence. The pith of the Convention is in Article I, which is in these words:

‘Whereas differences have arisen respecting the liberty claimed by the United States, for the inhabitants thereof to take, dry, and cure fish, on certain coasts, bays, harbors, and creeks, of His Britannic Majesty’s dominions in America, it is agreed between the high Contracting Parties, that the inhabitants of the said United States shall have, for ever, in common with the subjects of His Britannic Majesty, the liberty to take fish of every kind, on that part of the southern coast of Newfoundland, which extends from Cape Ray to the Rameau Islands, on the western and northern coast of Newfoundland, from the said Cape Ray to the Quirpon Islands, on the shores of the Magdalen Islands, and also on the coasts, bays, harbors, and creeks, from Mount Joly, on the southern coast of Labrador, to and through the Straits of Belleisle, and thence northwardly indefinitely along the coast, without prejudice, however, to any of the exclusive rights of the Hudson’s Bay Company: and that the American fishermen shall also have liberty, for ever, to dry and cure fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbors, and creeks, of the southern part of the coast of Newfoundland hereabove described, and of the coast of Labrador; but so soon as the same, or any portion thereof, shall be settled, it shall not be lawful for the said fishermen to dry or cure fish at such portion so settled, without previous agreement for such purpose, with the inhabitants, proprietors, or possessors of the ground.

‘And the United States hereby renounce for ever any liberty heretofore enjoyed or claimed by the inhabitants therefore, to take, dry, or cure fish, on or within three marine miles of any of the coasts, bays, creeks or harbors of His Britannic Majesty’s dominions in America, not included within the above mentioned limits; provided, however, that the American fishermen shall be permitted to enter such bays or harbors, for the purpose of shelter and of repairing damages therein, of purchasing wood, and of obtaining water, and for no other purpose whatever.* But they shall be

*The Italics are the writer’s.

under such restrictions as may be necessary to prevent their taking, drying, or curing fish therein, or in any other manner whatever abusing the privileges hereby reserved to them.'

It will be seen that by this new agreement Britain again grants valuable privileges to the Americans, and again to the detriment of the Colonists without compensation, or equivalent of any kind. This, naturally strengthened the idea prevailing in the popular mind of the United States, that Britain still feared to insist on the absolute rights claimed by her. It may be said that the last clause by which the Americans *renounced forever*, any liberty heretofore enjoyed or claimed by them to take, dry, or cure fish within the three mile limit was an equivalent; but they renounced nothing to which they had a right, and therefore they in effect renounced nothing. British diplomatists were still pursuing the old 'go as you please' policy, which had the natural effect of encouraging the Americans in their extravagance of their demands. From 1818 to 1824 they used the fisheries in the Bay of Fundy more than three miles beyond low water mark without interference, but on 26th July of that year the interminable dispute on the three mile limit, as to which whole libraries have been written, commenced. On that day two American fishing vessels, the *Reindeer* and *Ruby* were seized for fishing in the Bay of Fundy. On this seizure the contest began. The British argument was first, that the Americans, by Art. I. of the Convention of 1818 were excluded from, and had given up all rights to the fisheries in the large bays, such as the bays of Fundy, Chaleurs, and Miramichi; second, that a straight line should be drawn from headland to headland, across the mouths of all bays, gulfs or indentions of the shore, from this line the three marine miles mentioned in the Convention should be measured; and that this was the limit within which the Americans were forbidden to prosecute the fisheries. On the other hand, the American Government insisted that the three mile limit should follow the coast parallel to its sinuosities, and should be measured across the mouths of bays only when the distance from headland to headland did not exceed the width from each side of three miles, or six miles in all.

The feeling of the Americans on this point is tersely expressed by the words used by Mr. Secretary Seward, when addressing the Senate of the United States in respect to this Convention:—‘Our fishermen want all that our own construction of the Convention gives them, and want, and must have more—they want and must have the privilege of fishing within the three inhibited miles, and of curing fish on the shore.’ In other words the Americans demanded equal rights with the British in the private property of the British, without compensation or equivalent. Mr. Tuck, a Senator from New Hampshire, expressed the same idea. In quite as bold and defiant language he said:—

‘The shore fishery, which we have renounced, is of great value, and extremely important to American fishermen. . . . From the 1st of September to the close of the season, the mackerel run near the shore, and it is next to impossible for our vessels to obtain fares without taking fish within the prohibited limits. The truth is, our fishermen need absolutely, and must have the thousands of miles of shore fishery which have been renounced, or they must always do an uncertain business.’*

Perhaps no authority is so high as that of Daniel Webster, and he, in a State Paper dated 6th July, 1852, while Secretary of State, and when contending that the wording of the Convention of 1818 was not conformable to the *intentions* of the United States, wrote as follows:—

‘The British authorities insist that England has a right to draw a line from headland to headland, and to capture all American fishermen who may follow their pursuits inside of that line. It was *undoubtedly an oversight* in the Convention of 1818 to make so large a concession to England, since the United States had usually considered that those vast inlets, or recesses of the ocean ought to be open as freely as the sea itself, to within three miles of the shore.’

Now, what caused this violent eruption? The Americans were now only repeating their old habit. In 1818 they had in as formal and solemn a manner as possible renounced for ever all right to fish within the three mile limit, and now within six

* There are 11,900 square miles of this shore fishery. *Proceedings of Halifax Commission*, p. 425.

† Bays of Fundy, Chaleurs, and Miramichi.

years after this well considered compact, they suddenly and with their usual effrontery demanded the right entirely to ignore it. Why was this? The answer is very curious, and opens up a highly interesting subject. In 1818 the American fishing industry was confined almost extensively to cod, mackerel and halibut, the cod being the most extensive portion. Cod was a deep sea fishing. It was carried on off Newfoundland chiefly, and, as by the ill advised generosity of the British Government, the invaluable liberty to land, dry, and cure their fish on British territory, was, as we have seen, gratuitously and to the serious injury of the Colonial fisherman, conceded to the Americans in 1783, they carried on the cod fishing to great advantage, and with no interruption. As they had ample supplies of mackerel and halibut in their own waters, their position was excellent, or to use one of their own expressive vulgarisms, they were well 'fixed.' They had their own mackerel and halibut which no Colonist would have been allowed to touch even if he had wished; they had the natural right to catch cod in the deep sea, and they obtained from Britain a right without which this other right would have been almost valueless—the right to land on British territory, where they dried and cured the fish they had caught, packed it ready for market, re-shipped it, and then sailed away to Gloucester or Boston in their own territory, where their great fish depots were established. Here the valuable cargos were entered without duty and sold, and this indispensable food for the millions of the American people was thence sent broadcast over the whole Union. Had a Colonist ventured to take to any American port a cargo of cod caught by him side by side with the American fisherman, he would have been met with a duty so high as to be practically prohibitive, and thus, the final result—again using one of their own vulgarisms—on the whole 'deal' was that they were enabled to strangle the trade of the Colonial fisherman, and force him to supply the cord.

But in 1824 a great change had come. The Americans were ignorant of the action of the ocean currents, and of their effect on the movements of the mackerel and

halibut, which formed a great portion of their fishing industry. In their desire to obtain the largest catches at the smallest expenditure of time and money, they devised and used a very destructive net, known as the purse seine. By this, millions of eggs and of fish unfit for trade purposes were destroyed, and year by year the supply fell off. They were not aware that the ocean currents were quietly at work against them. They supposed the supply to be inexhaustible, and that their coasts were as favourably situated as those of British North America. But the subsequent researches of Professor Hind, a Canadian naturalist, and Professor Baird, an American, established some highly interesting facts which are so interesting that I will here briefly enumerate them. They discovered that all the fish taken on the North American coasts are found within a few miles of the land, or on banks, and nowhere else, the reason being that the cod and its tribe, the mackerel, the herring, and their tribes, being what is known to the trade as cold-water fish, cannot thrive or even live in any but very cold water—water verging on the freezing point being their favoured *habitat*. It was discovered that the great Arctic currents from Baffin Bay, and the coast of Greenland, which bring from the North the immense icebergs which contribute so largely to the coldness of the climate of the British North American coasts, also bring these valuable fish of commerce. These cold streams of water enter the Gulf of St. Lawrence and carry the fish with them; but on the American coast Nature has so arranged that of necessity there can be but a comparatively small supply of this description of fish. It was found in fact that on the American coast there were but three points where these fish spawn—Block Island, George's Bank, and Stellwagen's Bank, in Massachusetts's Bay, and that the fish selected these points because it was only at them that the cold Arctic currents impinged on the United States shores. It appeared that the cold water remained at these points during a certain period of the year—that in the Spring the fish go with it, and remain on the shores until these currents recede; but that the Great Ocean River, as the Gulf Stream is styled by Lieut. Maury, in its summer swing approaches very near

the American coast in some places, and touching it at others, separates the surface current from the colder waters beneath where these fish feed, and thus drives them from the American to the colder British shores of the North. Professor Hind further discovered that even in the Gulf of St. Lawrence there are many places where these fish do not live, that zones of water of different temperatures are there found, and that the fish live in the colder zones, for in the warmer ones they cannot exist. Professor Hind also made a curious and interesting discovery, which explains very clearly why the Americans must always obtain these fish from British waters. He observed an extraordinary phenomenon in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. He saw that the tides came into the Gulf through the Straits of Belle Isle, and became divided by the Magdalen Islands into two portions. One portion runs along the southern coast of Labrador, around the island of Anticosti, and up the northern bank of the St. Lawrence, while the other portion passes down to Prince Edward Island, into the Straits of Northumberland. In consequence of the great distance which one portion has traversed, while the other has travelled a shorter road, the tide coming down from the northern coast meets the ebb tide about the middle of the Island, and as a consequence there is really high water always found at that point; and for this reason the Island presents the peculiar appearance it does, having been hollowed out, year after year, by the action of the tides. The effect of this phenomenon—and it is a phenomenon which the Professor states is found only in one or two other spots of the globe—is that the whole of the fish food is carried inshore, and within the three mile limit. The cold water which is essential to the existence of such fish as the cod, the mackerel, and the halibut, is carried inshore in the bight of Prince Edward Island; it is carried inshore along the southern coast of Labrador, and along the northern bank of the St. Lawrence. These fish are thus brought inshore in pursuit of their food, and remain there.*

The use of the destructive purse seine had exhausted the sup-

* *Proceedings of the Halifax Commission, 331-421.*

ply of fish on their own coasts, and by 1824 the Americans were compelled to seek the fish in British waters. When they arrived, they found that the mackerel, halibut, haddock, and herring were to be had only within the three mile limit; but by the Convention of 1818 they had deliberately and solemnly renounced all right to enter this limit for fishing purposes. Here was a dreadful state of things. The popular feeling among the Americans was that they had been entrapped by the British negotiators of the Convention; and they imputed carelessness to their own. But this was unjust to both. Senator Tuck, in a debate in Congress on 14th August, 1852, said :—

‘Perhaps I shall be thought to charge the Commissioners of 1818 with overlooking our interests. They did so in the important renunciation which I have quoted; but they are obnoxious to no complaints for so doing. In 1818 we took no mackerel on the coasts of the British possessions, and there was no reason to anticipate that we should ever have occasion to do so. Mackerel were then found as abundantly on the coast of New England as anywhere in the world, and it was not until years after that this beautiful fish, in a great degree, left our waters. The mackerel fishery on the Provincial coasts has principally grown up since 1838, and no vessel was ever licensed for that business in the United States till 1828. The Commissioners in 1818 had no other business but to protect the cod fishery, and this they did in a manner generally satisfactory to those most interested.’ *

The seizure of the ‘Reindeer’ and ‘Ruby’ in July 1824 was the result of the invasion of the three mile limit by the American fisherman in search of the mackerel which had deserted their shores. With their accustomed coolness they hesitated not to poach again. The fact that their Government had renounced for ever the right to fish within the three mile limit had no effect on them, and they continued the invasion as long, and to an extent, as great as they possibly could. Mr. Adams, the American Secretary of State, complained of these seizures. This was the American system, they violated their agreements, and when their vessels were seized in consequence, they put on an air of injured innocence, and complained loudly of the harsh and unjust treatment which they alleged they had received at the hands

* *Proceedings of the Halifax Commission*, p. 144.

of the British cruisers. Mr. Addington feebly replied on 19th February, 1825, and then a lull in the correspondence ensued—the fact being that the Americans continued their poaching with yearly increasing vigour in the face of a yearly decreasing interference by Great Britain. She had fallen asleep again. In January 1836 a circular was issued by the Secretary to the American Treasury to the American fisherman enjoining them to observe the limits of Treaty, but omitting to say what the limits were. As the fishermen had been allowed by the British Government to go where they pleased, or very nearly so, they construed this warning in the way most favourable to themselves, and continued their poaching. We now hear for the first time the preliminary gusts which heralded the ‘headland to headland’ storm. The first dispute arose in the Bay of Fundy, and it arose, not from any action of the British Government, for its utter disregard of Colonial rights when action did not comport with its love of ease, was still exhibited, but from the action of the authorities of Nova Scotia. Finding the British Ministers were quite content to allow American fishermen to operate wherever they pleased, they thought it time to look after a matter deeply affecting themselves, and in 1839 they seized several American vessels that were fishing in this Bay. A letter from Lieut.-Commander Paine to Mr. Forsyth, Secretary of State, dated 29th December, 1839, sums up the matters in dispute thus :

‘The authorities of Nova Scotia seem to claim a right to exclude Americans from all bays, including such large seas as the Bay of Fundy, and the Bay of Chaleurs ; and also to draw a line from headland to headland, the Americans not to approach within three miles of this line. The fishermen on the contrary, believe they have a right to work anywhere, if not nearer than three miles from the land.’

The inconsistency, or weakness, or vacillation, or gross neglect of Colonial interests, now exhibited by the British Government is really surprising. Though sturdily, in their despatches to the American Government, insisting on the rule that the Americans had no right to fish within a line drawn from headland to headland three miles out, they yet abstained from enforcing its observance, and thus not only misled the American fishermen,

but worked injury to the Colonists. In fact, the orders to Admiral Sir Thomas Hardy, as stated by himself, were to prevent from fishing only those Americans who were found nearer than three miles from the shore. What wonder then that the American fishermen honestly supposed themselves strictly within their rights when they adopted this rule; or that—knowing the true rule as frequently laid down by the British Ministries—they became indignant when the Colonial authorities of Nova Scotia insisted on the Americans keeping outside of the three mile limit, measuring from a line drawn from headland to headland. Matters were dragging on in this unsatisfactory way until 1841, when Mr. Forsyth wrote to Mr. Stevenson, the American Minister at St. James', desiring him to present formally to the British Government the demand of the United States as to the fishing off the Colonial Coasts. This demand was simply a demand for the right to fish in the Bays of Fundy and Chaleurs, provided the fishermen kept three miles away from the British shores. Mr. Stevenson obeyed the instructions of his Government, and laid the matter formally and fully before the British Government. His communication was acknowledged, and referred to the Colonial Secretary; and there the matter rested until 10th May, 1843, when the American schooner 'Washington' was seized in the Bay of Fundy by an officer of the Provincial Customs, for fishing ten miles from shore, but within a line drawn three miles out from headland to headland. This produced a paper duel, the antagonists being Mr. Everett and Lord Aberdeen. Mr. Everett fired the first paper bullet on 10th August, 1843. Lord Aberdeen seemed in no haste to reply, for his despatch in answer to Mr. Everett is dated 15th April, 1844. On 25th May, 1844, Mr. Everett wrote again. In the August following, the American vessel 'Argus' was seized while fishing off the Coast of Cape Breton, under circumstances exactly similar to those attending the seizure of the 'Washington.' Mr. Everett fired another shot at the Earl of Aberdeen on account of this, on 9th October, 1844; and on 10th March, 1845, Lord Aberdeen wrote to Mr. Everett, informing him, that although the British Government still adhered to their previous construction of the treaty, and denied any right of

American fishermen to fish within three miles of a line drawn from headland to headland across the mouths of the bays on the Canadian coast, 'yet the rule would be relaxed,' etc., etc. It would be tiresome and quite useless to trace the twistings and turnings of the British Ministry on this point. Their vacillation, and disregard of the interests of the Colonists, who were all the while deeply suffering from the inroads of the American fishermen, were still to be seen; and again were the Americans comforted, and encouraged to persist in their poaching. The rule was relaxed, and under a patched-up peace matters ran on more or less smoothly until 1847, when negotiations were opened for the establishment of reciprocal free trade between Canada and the United States, and for the settlement of the Fishery question. These continued until 1854, nothing definite being until then settled. Lord Elgin, however, secured the honour of succeeding where so many had failed. Visiting Washington, on his way to take up the Government of Canada, as Governor-General, he, after a comparatively short discussion with the American diplomatists, signed with them, on 5th June, 1854, the celebrated Convention, known as the Reciprocity Treaty.*

In a subsequent paper, I will conclude the account of the Fishery Question, bringing its history down to the time of writing.

WM. LEGGO.

ART VI.—OSSIANIC BALLAD POETRY—OSSIAN'S PRAYER.

THE Book of the Dean of Lismore, from which the first version of the Ossianic Ballad which we publish in our present issue, has been transcribed, is a manuscript collection of Gaelic poetry taken down from oral recitation, more than three hundred and fifty years ago (1512-1526), by Sir. James Macgregor, Dean of Lismore, in Argyllshire, and his brother, Duncan

* A highly interesting and amusing account of the mode by which Lord Elgin secured the Treaty, appeared in *Blackwood* for August last, written by Mr. Oliphant, well known in Canada, while on the staff of Lord Elgin.

Macgregor, who acted as his secretary. The MS. contains 311 quarto pages neatly written in the current Roman hand of the period. The orthography, which is not always uniform, is phonetic, and may, therefore, be regarded as accurately representing the spoken Gaelic of the West Highlands of Scotland at the time the MS. was written, a circumstance which greatly enhances its value for linguistic purposes, although it immensely increases the difficulty of presenting its contents in an intelligible form to Gaelic readers of the present day.

A complete transcript of the Dean's Book, with the exception of those parts that are illegible, was made in 1813 by Ewen Maclachlan, of Aberdeen; and a volume containing a selection of pieces from it, with modern versions and translations, and a valuable introduction written by Mr. W. F. Skene, was published in 1862 by the late Rev. Dr. Maclauchlan, Edinburgh.

In preparing the following transcript of the Dean's version of 'Ossian's Prayer' for publication, care has been taken to secure literal accuracy, every word and letter of the transcript having been compared repeatedly with the original MS., now deposited in the library of the Faculty of Advocates, Edinburgh. In the modern version, several archaic forms have been retained; and it has been found necessary, in some instances, to adopt the Irish orthography, which frequently presents more accurately than does the Scottish orthography, the Gaelic of the Dean's MS. The translation is strictly literal—line for line, and, as nearly as possible, word for word.

The Dean's version of this ballad is the oldest and most accurate with which we are acquainted. There are, however, several modern versions, all of which are more or less corrupt, although several are interesting and valuable. For the purpose of comparison, we print, along with the Dean's version, one of the oldest of these modern versions—that of the Rev. Donald McNicol, who was Parish minister of Lismore, from 1766 to 1802. Our transcript is an exact copy of McNicol's MS., but we add a version with the orthography corrected, and a literal translation.

ALEXANDER CAMERON.

TRANSCRIPT OF URNAIGH OISIN,

FROM THE DEAN OF LISMORE'S BOOK (ff. 215 and 141).

A houdir so Ossin McFinn.

f. 215.

Innis downe a phadrik noñor a leyvin
 A wil noewa gi hayre ag mathew fane eyrrin
 Veyrs zut a zayvin a ossinn ni glooyn
 Nac wil noewa ag aythyr ag oskyr na ag goolle
 Ach is troygh in skayl chanis tus cleyrry
 Mis danow chrawe is gin noewa ag fayne Eyrrin
 Nach math lat a teneir vee tew si caythre
 Gin keilt gin noskyr wei^t far rutt is taythyr
 Beg a wath lwmsi wee ym hew si chaythree
 Gin keilt gin noskyr wei^t far rwm is may^tir
 Is farr gnws v^c neyve re agsin raa ane lay
 Na wil doyr si grwnnith vea aggit gi hymlane
 Innis downe a halgin skayle ni cathry^t noya
 Versi zwt gi hayre scaylli cath gawrraa
 Ma sea skayll ni cathry^t zeawris tws a hannor
 Gin netow gin nagris gin nerkis gin nanehoyve
 Ka id muntir neyve is oyssil fayne eyrrin
 Vil kroys na gree na deilli sead cleyrri
 Ne hynnin is ni fayni ne cosswil eayd ree cheyll
 Ne ir zlas glayrre wea geyrre spre^y*

ff. 141-2.

Er zraw tenni phadrik na fagsi ni deneth
 Gin nis di ree noya ber a steach ni fayni
 Ga beg a chwle chronayni^t na in dad one[†] zath zreyne
 Gin nis din re woralych ne rey fa wil a skaye
 Ne hay sin di v^ckowle re math we sin ni faynow
 Rachteis fir in doyin na hei^t wle gin nearri
 Is troyg lwm hennor is how in der teissi
 Cha chorrymich a wra sin ver how er mi reissi
 Barr in chath layddir verri finni ny fayni
 Na di hearny^t chrawe is tow feyn lay cheill
 Bog sin a hennor a ne in coyra bolla
 Is far dea re hynlay na fayne eyrrin olla
 Ga tarnig mi layis is me derri meissi
 Phadrik na toyr ayhis er mathew clynni beiskni

* 'sorey' ? † 'om' ?

Ne hurriinn* zut aythris ossin v^c in reayne
 Ac nac innyn fir mathis agis flaythis mi heyarni
 Di marra aggw^m conane far mewlas ni fayni
 Ne legfe layd wunnell di chomis a cleyrri
 Na habbir sin a ossin is anmeine di wrayrri
 Be fest gi fostynich is gaw hugit mi ryilt
 Da wacca ni catha is ni braddichi grast
 Ne wee ane reid id ter ach meyr ni fayni
 Ossin v^c ni flaa mest tanmyn a bei'yll
 Na cwne ni cath cha nil ag asling sin seill
 Da glwnta ni gyir is meith ni shalga
 Bar lat wee na warri na wea si chay'ir noya
 Troygh sin a hennor is mei'hur ni schelga
 Faychin gi honnor za wil si chay'r noa
 Na habbir sin a phadrik is fallow di wrayrri
 In deggow sin dayny^t bar finn is no fayni
 Er a lawe v^c eweisni ne fallow mi wrairri
 Is farr angil din ni hanglew na finn is ni fayny^t
 Da beany^t mir a veissi^t a gath zawry^t ni beymin
 Di zelin in demis ver tow er ayne errin
 Dimmy^t di worzail er cath di heill
 Ne warrin did choy^t lawy^t ach how nes a teneyr
 Da marri mi zenissi ne estin di choyllane
 Is zoywo di hemoo in nerrik di choyrre
 Da mardeis sin vlli si goyni^t ra cheilli
 Ne wea mi holli bwe re vii cayth ni fayni
 Vii feychit vrrit vrrit vil tus zi cleyrrew
 Di huttideis sin vlli lay oskir na henyr
 Ta tow in der di heill a hennor gin cheyll
 Scur a neis id wreysrow is be fest zim rayr
 Da wacca in lwcht coy'oyll a v^c fin in nalvin
 Ne raacha za gomor re muntir ni caythre noya
 Aggis neir low ir dynnoyll nor heg most gow tawra . . .
 Sannossil ni bray'ry^t fane woery zi rynniss
 Mathwm zut a clevrre di skaylli na hynniss
 Innis downe

* hurrim ?

URNAIGH OISIN.¹*(The Dean of Lismore's version, in Modern Orthography.)*

Ughdar so Oisín Mac-Fhinn.

- Oisín.* Innis duinn, a Phádraig,
An onoir do² léighinn,
A bh-feil nèamh gu h-áraidh
Aig maithibh Féinne Eireann?
- Pádraig.* Bheirims³ dhuit a⁴ dheimhin,
A⁵ Oisín nan glonn,
Nach bh-feil nèamh aig t⁶ athair,
Aig Oscar, no aig Goll.
- Ois.* Ach is truagh an sgeul
'Chanas tus', a chléirich;
Mise dèanamh 'chrábhaidh,
Is gun nèamh aig Féinne Eireann.
- Pádr.* Nach math leat a' t' aonar
Bheith a' t' shuidhe sa' chathair,
Gun Chaoilte, gun Oscar,
Bheith far riut, is t' athair?
- Ois.* Beag a³ mhath leam-sa
Bheith² a' m' shuidhe sa' chathair²
Gun Chaoilte, gun Oscar,
Bheith² far rium is m' athair.

¹ 'Oisín' (a fawn), dim. from *os* (deer), cognate with Goth. *auhsa*, Eng. *ox*.

² The MS. has 'a' for 'do' (thy).

³ The MS. has 'veyrs' for 'bheir-sa' (I will give).

⁴ The MS. has 'a' for 'do' (of).

⁵ In modern Scottish Gaelic, 'a' is always omitted, for the sake of euphony, before the vocative of nouns beginning with a vowel or with *f*.

⁶ 'Ag aythyr' = 'ag th' athair' = 'aig t' athair' (at or to thy father).

OSSIAN'S PRAYER.

(*Literal translation.*)

THE AUTHOR OF THIS IS OISIN, SON OF FINN.

- Oisin.* Tell to us, oh Patrick,
In honour of thy learning,
Have [they] heaven truly,
The nobles of the Feinn' of Erin?
- Patrick.* I tell thee of a truth,
Oisin of the valiant deeds,
That thy father has not heaven
Nor [has] Oscar nor Gaul.
- Ois.* But sad is the tale
Thou tellest, oh cleric;
I do [my] devotions,
And the Feinn' of Erin have not heaven.
- Patr.* Would'st thou not wish alone
To be sitting in the city,
Without Caelte, without Oscar
Being with thee—or thy father?
- Ois.* Little pleasure it were to me
To be sitting in the city,
Without Caelte, without Oscar
Being with me—or my father.

⁷ The article is understood before 'chrawe' = 'chrábhadh.' Cf. 'di hearny' chrawe' = 'do Thighearna chrábhadh,' for 'do Thighearna a' chrábhaidh.' In the Ir. Oss. Society's version, the gen. of 'chrábhadh' is not attenuated in these stanzas.

⁸ 'Beg a wath liamsi' = 'beag a mhath leam-sa' (lit. little it's good to me).

⁹ 'Bheith' aspirated because preceded by 'a' or 'do' (to) understood.

¹⁰ 'Si chaythree' = 'sa' chathraigh' (in the city). In Scottish Gaelic, the dat. is now 'cathair' or 'caithir.'

- Pádr.* Is fèarr gnúis Mhic nèimhe
R' a faicsin¹¹ ré aon lá,
Na bh-feil do ór sa' chruinne¹²
Bheith agad gu h-iomlán.¹³
- Ois.* Innis duinn, a thailgein,
Sgeul na cathrach nèamhdha;
Bheir-sa dhuit gu h-áraidh
Sgeula cath Ghabhra.¹⁴
- Pádr.* Ma 's e sgeul na cathrach¹⁵
'Dh'fhiafr'as tus', a sheanoir;
Gun iota, gun acras,
Gun airceas, gun ainiomh.
- Ois.* Ca iad muintir nèimhe,
Is uasail Féinne Eireann?
Bh-feil cruas 'n an cridhe,¹⁶
No 'n díol¹⁷ siad cléirich?
- Pádr.* Ni h-ionnan a 's na Fianna,
Ni 'n cosmhail iad re 'chéile;
Nior dhleas gléire
Bheith 'g airghe spréidhe.¹⁸
- Ois.* Air ghrádh t' éinigh,¹⁹ Phádraig,
Na fág-sa na daoine²⁰;

¹¹ The MS. has 're agsin' = 're 'aicsin' = 're a aicsin' (to see it). The infinitive is now 'faicsin' or 'faicin' with prothetic *f*. The verb is 'faic,' in Old Gael. 'ad-ciú.'

¹² In 'grwnnith' = 'g-cruinne,' *c* is eclipsed by *g*.

¹³ The last syllable of 'iomlán' is long, rhyming with 'lá,' the last word of the second line of this stanza.

¹⁴ 'Gabhra,' the scene of a battle fought between the Clan Morna and the Clan Baoisene in the third century (283 or 296), is now Garristown, about fourteen Irish miles north of Dublin.

¹⁵ 'Cathry' = 'cathrach,' gen. sing. of 'cathair' (city).

¹⁶ 'Na gree' = 'na g-cridhe,' with *c* eclipsed by *g* in consequence of the nasal termination of the poss. pron. *an* (their).

¹⁷ 'Na deilli sead' may be for 'no d-teiligh siad' = 'no an teiligh siad' (or refuse they)! The corresponding stanza in the Ir. Oss. Society's version

- Patr.* Better the face of heaven's Son
To behold it for one day,
Than that all the gold of earth
Were wholly thine.
- Ois.* Tell to us, oh holy man,
The tale of the heavenly city;
I will tell thee truly
The tales of the battle of Gabhra.*
- Patr.* If 'tis the tale of the city
Thou askest, old man,
[Tis] without thirst, without hunger,
Without want, without stain.
- Ois.* What more are the people of heaven
Than the nobles of the Feinn' of Erin?
Is there hardness in their heart,
Or reward they clerics?
- Patr.* They are not like the Feinni,
They resemble not each other—
'Tis not a noble office
To be tending cattle.
- Ois.* For the love of thine honour, Patrick,
Forsake not thou the men ;

* In the long version of Cath Gabhra given in the Ir. Oss. Soc.'s Transactions, Oisín gives an account of the battle earlier in the poem ; but the fut. 'bheir-sa' represents best the MS. 'versi.'

(Trans., Vol. I., 96) is 'no a n-eitiønn siad ainne' (or refuse they every one)? 'Díol,' however, seems to be the word intended.

¹⁸ The modern version of the third and fourth lines of this stanza is conjectural. The MS. is quite distinct, with the exception of the letter 'p' in the last word of the fourth line ; but the meaning of some of the words is doubtful.

¹⁹ 'Tenni' = 't' éinigh,' gen. sing. of 'éineach' (honour, generosity, goodness), with the poss. pron. preceding. The gen. sing. would now be 'éineich' or 'éinich' in Scottish Gaelic, but 'éinigh' in Irish Gaelic.

²⁰ 'Demyth'?

Gun fhios do Rìgh nèimhe,
Beir a steach na Féinnidh.

Pádr. Ge beag a' chuil chrónanach,
No an dad o 'n' gath ghréine,
Gun fhios do 'n Rìgh mhórdhalach
Nì rach' fo bhil' a sgéithe.

Ois. Nì h-e sin do Mhac-Cumhaill,
Rìgh math 'bhi air' na Fiannaibh;
Rachdais' fir an domhain
'N a thaigh uile gun iarraidh.

Pádr. Is truagh leam [sin], a sheanoir,
Is thu an deireadh t' aoise;
Cha chothromach a' bhreith sin
'Bheir thu air mo rìgh-sa.

Ois. B' fhèarr aon chath láidir
'Bheireadh Fionn na Féinne
Na do Thighearna 'chrábhaidh
Is tu féin le chéile.

Pádr. Bochd sin, a sheanoir,
A nì an cómhradh boile;
Is fèarr Dia ré h-aon lá
Na Fianna Eireann uile.

Ois. Ged tharnaig^s mo fhlaithneas,
Is mi 'n deireadh m' aoise,
Phádraig, na toir athais
Air maithibh Clanna Baoiscne.

Pádr. Nì h-urrainn duit 'aithris,
Oisin, mhic na ríoghain,

^s The letter 'e' of 'one' is indistinct in the MS. The word may possibly be 'om' for 'um' (about); or 'dad om' may be for 'dadam' (atom, mote), which occurs in another version.

^s 'rey' is probably for 'regh' or 'regha.' Cf. 'doreg' (veniam), and 'dorega' (veniet), in Gramm. Celtica and Windisch's Ir. Texte.

Unknown to the King of heaven
Bring in the Feinni.

Patr. Though small the humming-fly,
Or the mote from the sunbeam,
Unknown to the King majestic
It goes not beneath the edge of his wing.

Ois. Not so with Mac-Cumall,
The good king who ruled the Feinni;
All men on earth might go
Unto his house unbidden.

Patr. 'Tis sad to me, old man,
And thou at thy life's close;
Not just is the judgment
Thou passest on my King.

Ois. Better one stout battle
That Finn of the Feinn' would fight
Than thy Lord of devotions
And thyself together.

Patr. 'Tis pitiful, old man,
Thou speakest words of madness;
Better is God for one day
Than all the Feinn' of Erin.

Ois. Though gone my princely power,
And I at my life's close,
Patrick, cast not reproach
On the nobles of the Clan Baoiscne.

Patr. Thou canst say nothing,
Oisin, son of the queen,

³ The MS. has 'sin,' but other versions have 'air,' which the sense requires.

⁴ 'Rachteis' = rachdais, 3rd pl. fut. sec. Cf. Windisch's *Ir. Texte*.

⁵ With the MS. 'tarnig,' cf. O'Reilly's 'tarnac' (it was finished).

Ach nach ionnan bhur maitheas
Agus flaitheas mo Thighearna.

Ois. Da⁶ maireadh agam Conan,
Fear míobhlas na Féinne,
Ni leigfeadh le d' mhuineal
Do choimeis,⁷ a chléirich.

Pádr. Na abair sin, Oisín,
Is an-mhín⁸ do bhriathra;
Bi am feasd gu foistineach,
Is gabh chugad⁹ mo riaghailt.

Ois. Da⁶ bh-faca na catha
Is na brataiche greusda,
Ni bhi aon reud a' t' aire
Ach meadhair na Féinne.

Pádr. Oisín, mhic na flatha,¹⁰
'S misd t' anmain am baoghal;
Na cuimhne nan cath
Cha 'n 'eil ag aisling san t-saoghal.¹¹

Ois. Da chuinnteadh¹² na gadhair
Is meadhair¹³ na seilge,
B' fhèarr leat bheith 'n a bh-farradh¹⁴
Na bheith sa' chathair nèamhdha.

Pádr. Truagh sin, a sheanoir,
Is meadhair na seilge,

⁶ In 'di marra,' 'di' (if), which is the same word as 'da,' in 'da wacca' below, is for 'dian' (Z. 709)=*di-an*, the prep. *di* (of), and the rel. *an* (which). The nasal of the relative is assimilated to *m* of 'marra'='mair-eadh.'

⁷ 'Di chomis' may be for 'do chomas' (thy power).

⁸ 'Meine' = 'mín,' in *Dermaid's Lay*.

⁹ 'Hugit,' now frequently written 'thugad,' is for 'chugad' (to thee, *ad te*), Old Gael. 'cucut,' the prep. *co* (*to*) reduplicated, and the 2nd pers. pron. suffixed.

But that not alike are your bounty
And the sovereignty of my Lord.

Ois. Had I now Conan living,
The bitter-tongued man of the Feinni,
He would not allow thee*
Thy comparison, oh cleric.

Patr. Say not so, Oisín,
Froward are thy words;
Be evermore in peace
And take to thee my rule.

Ois. If thou hadst seen the battalions
And the embroidered banners,
Not one thing would be in thy thought
But the glory of the Feinni.

Patr. Oisín, son of the prince,
Thy soul suffers for thy folly;
Save the remembrance of the battalions
[Thou] hast no dream in the world.*

Ois. If thou hadst heard the hounds
And the joy of the chase,
Rather would'st thou be in their train
Than in the heavenly city.

Patr. Poor is that, old man,
And the joy of the chase,

* These two lines are somewhat obscure.

¹⁰ 'Da wacca' = 'da bh-faca' = 'dan faca' = 'dian faca.' See note on 'di marra,' above.

¹¹ 'Flaa' = 'flatha,' gen. sing. of 'flaith' (prince), a fem. i-stem.

¹² The 3rd and 4th lines of this stanza are, to some extent, conjectural in the modern version.

¹³ 'Da glwnta' = 'da g-cluinnteadh' = 'dan cluinnteadh' = 'd'an cluinnteadh.'

¹⁴ 'Meith' is apparently for 'meithir' = 'meadhair.' See 'mei'ur' below.

¹⁵ 'Na warri' = 'na bh-farradh' = 'n an farradh.'

Fa chionn gach onoir
Dha bh-feil ¹⁶ sa' chathair nèamhdha.

Ois. Na h-abair sin, a Phádraig,
Is falamh do bhriathra ;
An teagamh ¹⁷ is an déineachd, ¹⁸
B' fhèarr Fionn is na Fianna.

Pádr. Air do ¹⁹ láimh, Mhic Ui Bhaoiscne,
Nì falamh mo bhriathra ;
Is fèarr aingeal de na h-ainglibh
Na Fionn is na Fianna.

Ois. Dam ²⁰ bidhinn mar a bhidheas
An Cath ²¹ Ghabhra nam beuman,
Do dhíolainn an dímeas
Bheir tu air Fhéinn' Eireann.

Pádr. Diomach do mhórdhail
Air caitheamh do shaoghail ;
Nì mhaireann de d' chomh-lámhaich
Ach thu nis a' t' aonar.

Ois. Da maireadh' mo dhaoine-sa
Nì h-éisdinn do chéolan,
Is gheabhadh [tu] do theumadh
An éirig do chómhraidh.

Patr. Da mairdis' sin uile
'S a g³-cómhnadh r' a chéile

¹⁶ 'Za wil' = 'dha bh-feil' = 'dhan feil' = 'dh'an feil.' For 'da,' which may be translated by 'that' or 'which,' see O'Donovan's Gramm., p. 133.

¹⁷ 'In deggow' = 'an d-teagamh,' for 'a d-teagamh' = 'an teagamh.' In the Dean's Book, the nasal termination is frequently retained, although the initial consonant of the following word is eclipsed.

¹⁸ 'Déineachd' is merely conjectural.

¹⁹ 'A' for 'do' (thy).

²⁰ In 'da beany,' the nasal of the relative is omitted.

Compared with all the honours
That are in the heavenly city.

Ois. Say not so, oh Patrick,
Empty are thy words;
In doubt* and in danger,
Better Finn and the Feinni.

Patr. By thy hand, son of Baoiscne,
Not empty are my words;
Better an angel of the angels†
Than Finn and the Feinni.

Ois. If I were as I was
At the battle of Gabhra of wounds,
I would avenge the insult
Thou givest to the Feinn' of Erin.

Patr. Unseemly is thy boasting
At the end of thy days;
There remains not of thy comrades
But thee now alone.

Ois. If my men were living,
I would not listen to thy bell;
And thou should'st get wounds‡
In reward for thy speech.

Patr. If all those were living
And helping each other,

* *Teagamh* signifies also difficulty.

† i.e. one of the angels.

‡ Lit. 'thy wounding.'

²¹ 'A gath' = 'a g-cath' = 'an cath' (in battle).

¹ 'Da marri' = 'dan maireadh' = 'da maireadh,' with *n* of the relative, assimilated to *m* of 'maireadh.'

² 'Da mardeis' = 'dan mairdis' = 'da mairdis' (see last note). 'Mairdis' or 'mardais' is the 3rd pl. of the fut. sec. of 'mairim' or 'maraim' (I remain).

³ 'Si goyni' = 's a g-cómhnaidh' = 's an cómhnaidh' (lit. and in helping).

Ni bhiodh mo thuilleadh⁴ buidhe
Re seachd catha na Féinne.

Ois. Seachd fichead uiread uiread,
A bh-feil⁵ agads⁶ do chléir'chibh,
Do thuitidis sin uile
Le Oscar 'na aonar.

Pádr. Ta tu an deireadh do shaoghail,
A sheanoir gun chéill;
Scur a nis do d' bhaosradh,⁷
Is bi feasd dha m' réir.

Pádr. Da bh-faca⁸ an luchd-cochail,
A mhic Fhinn, an Almhain,
Ni rachadh dha g-comoradh⁹
Re muintir na cathrach néamhdha.

Ois.
.
Agus nior lugha ar d-tionol⁶
'N uair 'thigimisd gu Teamhraigh.

Ois. 'S an-uasal na briathra
F' an bhuaradh¹⁰ do rinneas;
Maithim dhuit, a chléirich,
Do sgeula na h-innis
Innis duinn.

⁴ 'Holli' may be for 'tholadh,' aspirated form of 'toladh' (more) = 'tuilleadh,' or for 'h-uile' (all). See 'olla' = 'uile,' in 16th stanza.

⁵ 'Vil' is for 'a bh-feil' = 'an feil.'

⁶ The MS. has 'tus' for 'tu-sa' (thou), but the sense requires either 'sibhse' (you) or 'agads' for 'agad-sa' (at or to thee).

⁷ 'Wreyarow' is for 'weysrow' = 'bhaosradh' (vanity, vain glory).

⁸ See note to stanza 21.

I would be nowise beholden
To the seven battalions of the Feinni.

Ois. Seven score times as many
As thou hast of clerics,
All these did fall
By Oscar alone.

Patr. Thou art at thy life's end,
Thou foolish old man,
Cease now thy vanity
And ever submit to me.

Patr. If thou hadst seen the cowlèd men,
Son of Finn, in Almu,
Thou would'st not compare them
To the people of the heavenly city. *

Ois.
.
And not less was our gathering
When we came to Tara.

Ois. Unseemly are the words
In the strife that thou hast made;
I forgive thee, cleric,
Thy tales do not tell.
Tell to us. †

* In this stanza and that which follows, the ballad is evidently defective.

† When a ballad is complete the last word is always the same as the first.

⁹ 'Za gomor' = 'dha g-comor' = 'dh'an comor,' for 'dh'an comoradh' (to compare them; lit. to their comparing).

¹⁰ 'Ir dynnoyll' = 'ar d-tionol' (our gathering) = 'arn tionol.'

¹¹ 'Bhuaradh' is merely a conjecture for 'woery' in the MS.

URNIDH OSSIAN.

Transcribed from the Rev. Donald McNicol's MSS.

Aillis sgeil' a Phadric,
An Onnair do Lebhidh,
A bheil neibh gu harrid,
Aig Fianibh na Herin.

Bheirimsa Briar dhuitsa
Ossain nan glonn,
Nach heil neibh aig Tathir,
Aig Oscar na aig Goll.

S olc an sgeil, a Phadric,
A haggad 'dhos' a Chlerich
Com am Bithimse ri Crabhidh
Mar heil neibh aig Fianibh Erin.

Nach Doinnigh shin, Ossain,
Fhir nan Briaribh baoile,
'S gum bearr Dia rè aoin uair
Na Fian Erin uille.

Bearr lium aoin Chath laidir
Churrigh Fion na Feine,
Na Tighearn' a Chrabhigh shin
Agus ussa, 'Chlerich.

Ge begg a Chuil' chronanich
Agus monaran na Grèine,
Gun Fhios don Rìogh mhoralich
Cha deid fo Bhiligh a Scéigh.

'N saoil u 'm binnin E's Mac Cubhail
An Rìogh 'bhagguin air na Fianibh
Dhede gach neich bha air Hallibh
Dol na Tsheolle sin gun iarraidh.

Ossain ! 's fadde do Tshuain,
Erich a suas 's eist na Sailm
Fon chaill u nish do Lu 's do Rath
'S nach cuir Cath ri La gairbh.

Mo chaill mi mo Lu 's mo Rath,
'S nach mairin Cath a bhaig Fion,
Do'd Chleirsnichd 's beg mo Speis,
'S do Cheoil eisdichd nin fach liom.

Cha chual u co math mo Cheoil,
Fo hús an Doibhin bhoir gus a nochd,
'S ha u aoiste ann'-ghlic Lia,
Fhir a dhiligh Cliar air Chroc.

'S trioc a dhiol mi Cliar air Chroc,
Illigh-phadric as olc Ruin
'S egair dhuitsa 'chain mo chruth
Fon nach duair u Guth air hus.

Chualas Ceol os cion do Cheoil,
Ga mor a* Bholis du do Chliar ;
Ceoil air nach luigh Letrom Laoich,
Faothir Cuile† aig an Ord Fian.

Nar a tshuigh Fion air Cnoc,
Heinne mid port do'n Ord Fian,
Chuirridh nan Caddil na Sloigh,
'S ochoin bu bhinn' e na Chliar.

* 'A' is written in the MS. over 'do,' which is erased.

† 'Cuile' is written in the MS. over 'Builg,' which is erased.

Smeorich bheag dhuth fo Ghlean Smail*
 Fadhir nan Bàrc rish an Tuinn,
 Heinnigh midde lethid h puirt,
 'S bha shin fein 's air Cruit ro bhinn.

Bha 13 Gaothir dheig aig Fionn
 Leiggidh midde ri Gleann Smáil,
 'S bu bhinnigh Glasgheirm air Conn
 Na do Chlaigs' a Chlerich chaibh.

Cuide ruinne Fion air Dia
 A riar Chliar agus Scôil,
 Hug e La air pronnigh Oir
 'S an ath Lo air Meothir Chonn.

Aig meid Fhiuthir ri Meothir Chon,
 'Se dioligh Scoil gach aoin La,
 'S aig luthad Eisamail ri Dia,
 Nois ha Fion nan Fian an Laibh.

'S gann a chreidas mi do Sceil,
 A Chlerich, le 'd Leobhar bán,
 Gun bithidh Fion na cho fial
 Aig Duinne na aig Dia an Laibh.

Ann an Iffrin ha e 'n Laibh
 Feir le 'n Sath bhi pronna Oir,
 Air son a Dhimais air Dia,
 Chuir iad e 'n Tigh pian fo Leon.†

*This line was first written 'Bha Smeorich bheag aggain 'n Gleann Smail,' but is altered as above in the MS.

† 'Bhron' is written above 'Leon' in the MS.

Na 'n bigh Clanne Morni 'steach
'S clainni Baoisge na Fir Threin,
Bheirre midde Fion a mach,
Na bhig an Teach aguin fein.

Coige Coighinibh na Herin ma sheach
'S hair Leatsa gur mor am Feim,
Cha duga shin Fion a mach,
Gad bhig an Teich agibh pein.

Nach math an Tait 'Iurne fein,
A Chlerich gan leir an Scoil,
Nach co math i 's flaitheas De
Ma dheothar int' Feigh as Coin.

Bha mise La air Sliabh Boid,
Agus Caoilte bu chruaidh Lann,
Bha Oscar ann 's Goll nan Sleigh,
Donil na 'n Fleigh raoin fo 'n Ghlean,
Fion Mac Cubhil, borb a Bhrigh,
Bha e na Riogh os air Cion.

Tri Micibh ard Riogh nan Scia,
Bu bhor am mian air dol Tshealg,
A Phadric nan Bachil fial,
Cha leigge mid Dia os air cion.

Bu bheic liom Diarmaid o Duine
Agus Fearreas bu bhinn Gloir,
Nam bo chead leat mi gan luaigh,
Chlerich nuaigh a heid do'n Roi.

Com nach cead leom u gan luaigh?
Ach hoir tairigh gu lua air Dia;
Fon ha nois Deirigh air Taois,
'Scur dod Mhaoigh tshean fhir Le.

A Phadric ma hug u cead
 Air beggan a labhairt Duin
 Nach aidich u (mas cead le Dia)
 Flath nan Fian a ghra air Hus.

Cha dug misshe Comas duit,
 Tshean Fhir chuir agus u lia.
 Bear Mac Muire re aoine La,
 Na Duinne gan danig riabh.

Nar ro math aig neich fo'n Ghrein
 Gu'm bear e fein na mo Tshriach
 Mac muirnich nach deitich Cliar
 'S cha leiggidh e Dia os a chionn.

Na coabhid ussa Duinne ri De,
 Tshein-fhir Le, na brennich e,
 'S fadde fo'n hanig a Neirt
 As marigh e ceart gu brach.

Choadinse Fion nan Fleigh
 Ri aoine neich a tsheoil san Ghrein,
 Cha'd iar riabh ni air neich
 'S cha bho dheir e neich ma Ni.

Bheiramaid sheic Cathin Fichid an Fhian
 Air Shian Druim Cliar a Muigh
 Cha duga mid Urram do Dhia
 Na dhaoine chliar* a bha air bith.

Sheic Caithibh fochid dhuibhse nar Fein
 Cha do chreid shibh 'n De nan dul,

* 'Triach' is erased in the MS., and 'chliar' is written over it.

Cha bharrin Duinne gar Slioc
'S cha bheo ach Richd Ossain Uir.

Cha ne shin bu chaorich ruin
Ach Turis Fhin a dhol don Roi
Cummail Cathghaure leoin fein
Bha e cluidh air Fein gu mor.

Cha ne shin chluidh shibh uille ann,
A Mhic Fionn fo'n gear gu 'd Re,
Eist ri Raigh Riogh nan Bochd,
'S iar uss' a nochd Neibh dhuit fein.

Comrich an da Aibsdail deig,
Gabhhigh mi dho fein an Duigh
Ma rein mise pecca trom
Chuir an Cnoc na 'n Tom a Muigh.

CRIOCH.

Hoir an Eichdrigh 'Mhaistir Donil
Ha Choinigh an Cois na Tuinne *
An Urnigh bha aig Ossain Liaghlas
Nach ro riabh ach na dhroich Dhuinne.

The above stanzas were composed by Duncan Riach M'Nicol,
in Glenurchy, commonly called Modern Ossain.†

* viz., Lismore.

† This can refer only to the last stanza, which forms no part of the ballad, but was composed by Duncan Riach McNicol, by whom evidently the ballad was sent to the Rev. Donald McNicol.

URNAIGH OISIN.

(McNicol's Version, with the Orthography corrected).

- Oisín.* Aithris^{*} sgeul, a Phádraig,
An onoir do leughaidh,
A bh-feil nèamh gu h-àraid
Aig Fiannaibh na h-Eireann ?
- Patrick.* Bheirim-sa briathar dhuitse,
Oisín nan glonn,
Nach 'eil nèamh aig t' athair,
Aig Oscar, no aig Goll.
- Oig.* 'S olc an sgeul, a Phádraig,
A th' agad dhómhs', a chléirich;
C' uim' am bidhinn-sa ri crábhadh
Mur 'eil nèamh aig Fiannaibh Eireann ?
- Patr.* Nach dona sin, Oisín,
Fhir nam briathra boile ?
'S gu 'm b' fhèarr Dia ré aon uair'
Na Fianna Eireann uile.
- Ois.* B' fhèarr leam aon chath làidir
'Chuireadh Fionn na Féinne,
Na Tighearn' a' chrábhadh sin
Agus thus', a chléirich.
- Patr.* Ge beag a' chuil chrónanach
Agus mónaran^{*} na gréine,
Gun fhios do n' Rígh mhóralach
Cha téid fo bhil' a sgeithe.

* The MS. has 'aillis,' which is only another form of 'aithris,' pronounced 'airis.' Interchange of the liquids *r* and *l* frequently occurs. Cf. 'Cuirm' (feast) and 'cuilm,' 'searbhag' (sorrel) and 'sealbhag,' 'biorar' (water-cresses) and 'biolar.'

OISIN'S PRAYER.

(*Literal translation of McNicol's Version.*)

- Oisin.* Recount the tale, oh Patrick,
In honour of thy reading,
Have [they] heaven truly,
The Feinni of Erin?
- Patrick.* I give [my] word to thee,
Oisin of the valiant deeds,
That thy father has not heaven,
Nor [has] Oscar, nor Gaul.
- Ois.* Evil is the tale
Which thou hast for me, oh cleric;
Why should I be at [my] devotions
If the Feinni of Erin have not heaven?
- Patr.* Is that not bad, Oisin,
Thou man of the words of madness?
Since * better is God for one hour
Than all the Feinni of Erin.
- Ois.* Better to me one stout battle
That Finn of the Feinni would fight,
Than the Lord of those devotions
And thyself, oh cleric.
- Patr.* Though small the humming fly
And the mote of the sun,
Unknown to the King majestic
It goes not beneath the edge of his wing.

* Lit. 'And that.'

² The MS. has 'lebhaidh' = 'leughaidh' (reading), for 'leyvin' = 'leigheann' (instruction, learning) in M'Gregor's MS.

³ 'Cuil,' a fly.

⁴ 'Mónaran,' a mote.

Ois. 'N saoil thu 'm b' ionnan e 's Mac-Cumhaill,
An rígh 'bh' againn air na Fiannaibh?
Dh' fheudadh gach neach 'bha air thalamh
Dol 'n a shealladh-san⁵ gun iarraidh.

Patr. Oisin! 's fada do shuan,
Eirich a suas is éisd na sailm;
Bho 'n chaill thu nis do lúth 's do rath,⁶
'S nach cuir [thu] cath ri lá garbh.

Oisin. Ma chaill mi mo lúth 's mo rath,
'S nach maireann cath a bh' aig Fionn,
Do d' chléirsneachd 's beag mo spéis,
'S do cheól éisdeachd ní 'm fiach leam.

Patr. Cha chual thu co math ri m' cheól
'Bho thús an domhain mhóir gus a nochd;
'S tha thu, aosda, an-ghlic, liath,
Fhir a dhioladh cliar air chnoc.

Ois. 'S tric a dhiol mi cliar air chnoc,
'Ille'-Phádraig a 's olc rún;
'S eucóir dhuitse 'cháin mo chruth,
Bho nach d' fhuair thu guth air thús.

Chualas ceól os cionn do cheóil,
Ge mór a mholas tu do chliar,
Ceól air nach laigh leth-trom laoi⁸,
Faoghar cuile aig an Ord Fhiann.⁹

⁵ The MS. has 'Taeolle' for 'shealladh.' For 'n a shealladh-san' (into his presence), other versions have 'n a thalla-san' (into his hall).

⁶ 'Rath' (grace, good luck, prosperity) is translated 'valour' in the Ir. Oss. Society's Transactions.

⁷ 'Illigh-phadric' is for 'A Ghille-Phádraig' (lit. Patrick lad). 'Ille' is a common abbreviation of the vocative of 'gille' (lad, attendant, servant).

⁸ 'Ceól air nach laigh leth-trom laoi' is probably corrupt. Cf. 'Sgaltarnach loin Leitreach Laoi' (the song of the blackbird of Letter Lee) in Ir. Oss. Society's version (Trans. I. 4).

- Ois.* Thinkest thou that he could compare with
 MacCumall,
 Our king over the Feinni?
 Every one on earth might go
 Into his presence* unbidden.
- Patr.* Oisin, long is thy slumber;
 Rise thou up and hear the psalms;
 Since thou hast lost thy strength and prosperous
 state,
 And canst not fight on day [of] fierce [conflict].
- Ois.* If I have lost my strength and prosperous state
 And that there remains not a battalion of Finn's,
 For thy holy duties little is my regard,
 And listening to thy music is nothing worth to me.
- Patr.* Thou hast heard nought so good as my music
 From the great world's beginning till this night;
 And thou art aged, foolish, grey,
 Thou that did'st reward bards on hill.
- Ois.* Often did I reward bards on hill,
 Thou Patrick of evil mind;
 'Tis wrong in thee that thou hast reviled my form,
 Since thou didst not first receive reproach.
- I have heard music better than thy music,
 Though greatly thou praisest thy clerics,
 Music on which the sorrow of heroes would not
 weigh—
 The sound of reed by the Ord Fiann.

* Other versions have 'n a thalla, into his hall.

² 'Faoghar cuile aig an Ord Fhiann' is corrupt. Cf. 'S an faoidh do guidh an Dord Fiann' (and the melody which the Dord Fiann makes) in the Irish version above quoted.

'N uair a shuidheadh Fionn air cnoc
 Sheinneamaid port do 'n Ord Fhiann,
 'Chuireadh 'n an codal na slóigh,
 'S ochóin! ba bhinne e na 'chliar.¹⁰

Smeórach bheag dhubh bho Ghleann Smáil,"
 Faoghar nam bárc ris an tuinn—
 Sheannamaid an leithid' a phuirt,
 'S bha sinn féin 's ar cruit ro bhinn.

Bha trí gaothair dheug aig Fionn,
 Leigeamaid iad ri Gleann Smáil;
 'S ba bhinne glasghairm ar con
 Na do chluigs', a chléríoch cháidh.

Cuide ruinne Fionn ar dia,
 A riar cliar agus sgoil;
 Thug e lá air bronnadh oir,
 'S an t-ath-ló air meadhair chon.

Patr. Aig meud 'fhiughair ri meadhair chon,
 'S e díoladh sgoil gach aon lá,
 'S aig lughad eisimeil ri Dia,
 A nis tha Fionn nam Fiann an láimh.

Ois. 'S gann a chreideas mi do sgeul,
 A chléríoch le d' leabhar bán,
 Gu'm bidheadh Fionn, no cho fial,
 Aig duine no aig Dia an láimh.

¹⁰ In Turner's version this stanza is as follows:—

'N tra shuidheadh an Fhiann air chnoc
 Sheinnfid gun lochd an Dord Fiann,
 Le 'n cuirteadh 'n an codal na slóigh
 Le ceól ba bhinne na 'chliar.

[When the Fiann would sit on a hill
 They would sound, without fault, the Dord Fiann,

When Finn would sit upon a hill,
We would sing a strain to the Ord Fiann
Which would put the hosts to sleep,
And, ochone! It was sweeter than the clerics.

A little black thrush from Glen Smail,
The sound of the barks against the waves—
Such strains we were wont to sing,
And very tuneful were we and our harp.

Thirteen hounds had Finn,
We would loose them upon Glen Smail;
And sweeter was the noise* of the dogs
Than thy bells, oh holy cleric.

Along with us was Finn, our god,
Who gave gifts to bards and schools;
One day he gave to bestowing gold
And the next to the sport of hounds.

Patr. By reason of his great longing for the sport of
hounds,
And he distributing to schools† every day,
And by reason of his little regard for God,
Finn of the Fiann is now in hand.‡

Ois. I scarce believe thy tale,
Oh cleric with thy white book,
That Finn, or one so generous, would be
In bonds‡ of man or God.

* Other versions have *brosnaicheadh ar con*, the inciting of our dogs.

† i.e., Bardic schools.

‡ i.e., undergoing punishment.

Which would put the hosts to sleep
With music sweeter than the clerics'.]

¹¹ 'Gleann Smáil' is 'Gleann Sgáil' (the Glen or Vale of Scal) in the Irish version.

Patr. Ann an ifrinn tha e'n láimh,
Fear le'n sáth¹² bhith bronnadh óir;
Air son a dhímeas air Dia,
Chuir iad e'n taigh pian fo león.

Ois. Nam biodh Clanna¹³ Morna 'staigh
'S Clanna¹³ Baoisgne, na fir threun',
Bheireamaid Fionn a mach,
No bhiodh an teach againn féin.

Patr. Cóig Cóigeadh¹⁴ na h-Eireann ma seach,
'S ar leat gur mór am féidhm,
Cha d-tugadh sin Fionn a mach,
Ged bhiodh an teach agaibh féin.

Ois. Nach math an t-àit ifrinn féin,
A chléirich dh'an léir an sgoil!
Nach co math i 's flaitheas¹⁵ Dé,
Ma gheabhar innte féidh is coin.

Bha mise lá air Sliabh Bhóid
Agus Caoilte ba chruaidh lann;
Bha Oscar ann is Goll nan sleagh
Domhnall¹⁶ nam fleadh is Fraoch¹⁷ bho'n ghleann:
Fionn Mac-Cumhaill, borb a bhrígh,
Bha e 'n a rígh os ar cionn.

Trí mic árd-rígh nan sgiath
Ba mhór am miann air dol a shealg;
A Phádraig nam bachall fiar¹⁸,
Cha leigeamaid Dia os ar cionn.

¹² For 'sáth' other versions have 'sámh' (pleasant).

¹³ 'Clanna,' the pl. of 'clann' (children), is literally 'Clans.'

¹⁴ 'Cóigeadh' (a fifth, a province). 'Cóig Cóigeadh na h-éireann' were the five ancient provinces of Ireland.

¹⁵ 'Flaitheas' (heaven), for 'flaitheamhnas.'

¹⁶ Other versions have 'Diarmaid.'

¹⁷ The MS. has 'raoin,' but other versions have 'Fraoch.'

¹⁸ The MS. has 'fial' for 'fiar' (crooked), the correct word.

Patr. In hell he is in hand,*
The man who delighted† to distribute gold ;
Because of his contempt of God,
They put him in the house of pain, in sorrow.

Ois. If the Clan Morna were within
And the Clan Baoisgne, the brave men,
We would bring out Finn,
Or the house should be our own.

Patr. The five Fifthst of Erin, one by one,
And you would think their power was great,
They would not bring out Finn,
Although the house were your own.

Ois. Is not hell itself a good place,
Oh cleric who seest knowledge ?
Is it not as good as the heaven of God,
If deer and hounds be found therein ?

I was one day on the hill of Bōd §
With Caelte of the hard lance ;
Oscar was there, and Gaul of spears,
Domnall|| of feasts, and Fraoch from the glen :
Finn Mac Cumall, fierce of soul,
He over us was king.

The three sons of the high king of shields,
Great was their desire to go a hunting,
Oh cleric of the crooked staves,¶
We would not let God [be] over us.

* i.e., undergoing punishment.

† Other versions have *guáth*, custom.

‡ The five Provinces.

§ The same word as Bute ; but 'Sliabh Fuaid' (the Hill of Fuad) seems to be intended.

|| Donald.

¶ i.e., croziers.

Ba bheachd leam¹⁹ Diarmaid Ui Dhuibhne
 Agus Feargus ba bhinn glór;²⁰
 Nam ba chead leat mi 'gan luaidh,
 A chléirich nuaidh a théid do 'n Róimh.²¹

Patr. C' uim' nach cead leam thu 'gan luaidh?
 Ach thoir t' aire gu luath air Dia;
 Bho'n tha nis deireadh air t' aois,
 Scur de d' bhaoith',²² a shean-fhir léith!²³

Ois. A Phádraig, ma thug thu cead
 Air beagan a labhairt duinn,
 Nach aidich thu (ma's cead le Dia)
 Flaith nam Fionn a rádh air thús?

Patr. Cha d-tug mise comas duit,
 A shean-fhir chiúirt' agus thu liath;
 B' fhèarr Mac Muire ré aon lá
 Na duine a tháinig riamh.

Ois. Nar robh math aig neach fo'n ghréin,
 Gu'm b' fhèarr e féin na mo thriath²⁴
 Mac múirneach nach d' éitich cliar,
 'S cha leigeadh e Dia os a chionn.

Patr. Na comhaid thusa duine ri Dia,
 A shean-fhir léith, na breithnich e;
 'S fada bho'n tháinig a neart,
 Is mairidh e ceart²⁵ gu bráth.

¹⁹ Fletcher's version has, in altered orthography :—

' Bu bheachd leam bhi tighin air Diarmaid
 'S air Fearghus bu bhinne glór.'
 (I wish to speak of Diarmaid
 And of Fergus of sweetest speech).

²⁰ The Ir. Oss. Society's version (Vol. IV. 34) has :—

' Is crádh liom Diarmuid agus Goll,
 Agus Feargus ba bhinn glór;
 An uair nach léighthear dóinn a luadh,
 A Phátraic nuaidh, tháinig ó 'n Róimh.'
 (Woe is me Diarmuid and Goll,
 And Fergus of the tuneful voice ;

I fain would speak of Diarmaid O'Duine
And of Fergus, of sweet speech ;
If thou wouldst let me name them,
New cleric who goest to Rome.*

Patr. Why should I not let thee name them ?
But quickly give thy thoughts to God ;
Since thou art now at thy life's end,
Cease from thy folly, grey old man.

Ois. Patrick, if thou hast given leave
To us to say a little,
Wilt thou not own [it right], if God permits,
To speak first of the prince of the Feinni ?

Patr. I have not given thee leave,
Broken old man, and thou grey.
Better is Mary's Son for one day
Than [any] man that ever was.

Ois. May no one under the sun fare well
[Who thinks] himself is better than my prince
High souled son who refused not bards,
And he would not let God [be] over him.

Patr. Compare not thou man to God,
Thou grey old man—conceive it not ;
'Tis long that His power has existed,
And He will remain just for ever.

* See note 20, p. 356-7.

Since it is not allowed us to name them,
O Patrick, lately come from Rome).

²¹ The MS. has 'dod mhaoigh' for 'do d' bhaoithe' (of or from thy folly).
Other versions have 'do d' bhaois,' which has the same meaning.

²² The MS. has 'tshean fhir' (O old man). 'Seanóir' or 'seanair'
(grandfather, old man ; Lat. senior) is used in M'Gregor's version.

²³ 'Triath,' prince, is pronounced 'triach' in some parts of the High-
lands. Hence 'tshriach' in the MS.

²⁴ For 'mairidh e ceart' (he will remain just), Fletcher's version has
'seasmhaidh a cheart' (his justice will stand).

- Ois.* Chomhaidinn-sa Fionn nam fleadh
 Ri aon neach a sheall sa' ghréin ;
 Cha d' iarr [e] riamh ni air neach,
 S' cha mhó 'dh' eur e neach mu ni.
- Bheireamaid seachd cathan fichead an Fhiann
 Air Sídhean-Druim-Cliair²⁵ a muigh ;
 Cha d-tugamaid urram do Dhia
 No dh' aon chliar a bha air bith.
- Patr.* Seachd catha fichead dhuibhse 'n ar Fiann ;
 Cha do chreid sibh an Dia nan dúl ;
 Cha mhairinn duine de 'r sliochd,
 'S cha bheó ach riochd Oisín úir.
- Ois.* Cha 'n e sin ba choireach ruinn
 Ach turus Fhinn a dhol do 'n Róimh ;
 Cumail Cath Ghabhra leinn féin,
 Bha e claidh ar Féinn' gu mór.
- Patr.* Cha 'n e sin a chlaoidh sibh uile ann,
 A mhic Fhinn bho 'n gèarr gu d' ré ;
 Eisd ri rádh Rígh nam bochd,
 'S iarr thus' a nochd nèamh dhuit féin.
- Ois.* Comraich an dá abstol deug
 Gabhaidh mi dhomh féin an diu ;
 Ma rinn mise peacadh trom,
 A chur an cnoc no 'n tom a muigh.
- Críoch.

Thoir an eachdraidh 'Mhaighstir Dómhnall,
 A tha chómhnaidh an cois na tuinne—
 An úrnaigh 'bha aig Oisín liath-ghlas
 Nach robh riamh ach 'n a dhroch dhuine.

²⁵ The 'Síd' (fairy dwelling or hill) of 'Drom Cliabh' is probably meant.

- Ois.* I would compare Finn of feasts
To any that ever looked at the sun ;
He never asked aught of any,
Nor did he to any aught refuse.
- We would bring seven score battalions [of] the Feinni
Forth on the hill of Druim Cliar ;
We would not pay honour to God,
Nor to any clerics that were on earth.
- Patr.* Seven score battalions were ye, the Feinni ;
Ye believed not in the god of the elements ;
Not one man of your race remains,
And only the ghost of youthful Oisín lives.*
- Ois.* That was not what caused our loss,
But Finn's journey on his way to Rome ;
Fighting the battle of Gabhra alone,
It brought great ruin on our Feinni.
- Patr.* 'Twas not that destroyed you all,
Son of Finn, whose end is near ;
Hear the saying of the King of the poor,
And this night seek heaven for thyself.
- Ois.* The protection of the Twelve Apostles
I take for myself to-day ;
If I have committed grievous sin,
May it be cast into a hill or a mound without !

End.

The following stanza composed by Duncan Riach N'Nicol, in Glenorchy, by whom, apparently, this ballad was sent to the Rev. Donald M'Nicol, is added in the MS. :—

Give this tale to Mr. Donald,†
Who dwells beside the wave ‡—
The prayer which hoary Oisín prayed
Who never was aught but a wicked man.

* The meaning apparently is that he was like the ghost of his former self.

† i.e., the Rev. Donald M'Nicol, the collector of these ballads.

‡ i.e., at Lismore.

- Ois.* Chomhaidinn-sa Fionn nam fleadh
 Ri aon neach a sheall sa' ghréin ;
 Cha d' iarr [e] riamh ní air neach,
 S' cha mhó 'dh' eur e neach mu ní.
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I take for myself to-day ;
If I have committed grievous sin,
May it be cast into a hill or a mound without !
- End.

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Who dwells beside the wave ‡—
The prayer which hoary Oisin prayed
Who never was aught but a wicked man.

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ART. VII.—SAVED.

IT may strike the minds of some persons, daunted by interminable discussion in Parliament of Irish complaints or contemptuously unmoved by the fluctuating chances of the Ins and Outs, that the participle printed at the head of these pages is hysterical or exaggerated. But the danger, menacing with sudden imminence within the course of the current year the constitution of the United Kingdom, a danger which the people of England and Scotland, flinging aside differences and rivalries long deemed inveterate, repelled, has been described in words of force by one whose judgment even his bitterest foes have never slighted as hysterical nor his Conservative instincts as exaggerated.

In his historic letter to the Duke of Marlborough, which stood in the stead of prolix and argumentative manifestoes which have since come into mode, Lord Beaconsfield limned this danger as ‘in its ultimate results scarcely less disastrous than pestilence and famine.’ It was to this danger that the edifice of the constitution was exposed by the stupendous flank movement undertaken by Mr. Gladstone as soon as the result of the autumn elections became known : a movement which he has since sought to justify as the outcome of convictions which for fifteen years have been insisting themselves on his mind, maturing themselves, it is true, in notable simultaneity with the exigency of dependance on the Irish vote, but not the less, he asserts, reconcilable with every thing he has said during his long career. ‘Although it is not a very safe thing for a man who has been for a long time in public life to assert a negative, still I will venture to assert that I have never in any period of my life declared what is now known as Home Rule in Ireland to be incompatible with Imperial Unity.’*

The figure of a flank movement is faulty ; what took place resembles the desertion to the enemy of an army under its generals. Many a stricken field had the Liberal and Conservative forces

* Speech on second Reading of Government of Ireland Bill, 10 May, 1886.

fought as allies against the common enemy, the strife between these two great factions had been, in the main, to settle who should command the campaign and undertake the work of defence; nor had it glimmered even on the raptorial imaginations of London correspondents of provincial journals that the germ of treachery to the Imperial idea lurked in the mind of the Liberal leader.

Nevertheless it arrived—that fateful day. The dawn of the new Parliament echoed to harsh commands, strange trumpet notes reft the early gloom, alarmed and amazed the nation beheld the forces defiling from the position they had been commissioned to defend and watched them as with drums beating and colours flying they wheeled into alignment amid the frantic cheers of their new allies. It looked as if the cause for which we had fought for years was betrayed and lost; the odds against us almost overwhelmed hope. But as dawn drew on to day it became seen that the position was not completely deserted. The bulk of the Liberal host had moved off; but on the old lines still there stood some veteran battalions, still might be descried the plumes of some trusted leaders. The moment was critical—everything depended on the degree of confidence possible between the Conservatives and the Liberal loyalists. Impossible! said many—who is to lead? How adjust rival claims to subordinate commands? whence the authority to appoint to rival posts?

Well, as we know, it was done. A stern fidelity to trust, stimulated by taunts and injurious sneers from former comrades and leaders, distinguished those who have since come to be known as Unionists.

Proximus ardet: in the operations which followed the principal share was borne by the alienated colleagues of Mr. Gladstone. The heavy repulse of the combined Ministerialists and Parnellites on the 7th June, signal and reassuring as the victory was, was far from being conclusive. The campaign of the Polls, which it prefaced, was entered on by the Ministerialists with confidence in heavy reinforcements to be drawn from the newly-enfranchised and from the once hostile Irish. Again the heaviest work was sustained by the Unionists—their losses were the most grievous; one after another their leaders fell, but at the close

victory—decisive, overwhelming—remained with the colours for which they fought. The enemy, shattered beyond recovery, drew off and the Union was saved.

Let metaphor be dropped. The kaleidoscope, the chameleon, the vane, the British climate—whatever might be cited as figuring swift change—may be dismissed as inadequate emblems of that which has taken place in the relations of political parties within three quarters of a year. Last autumn Mr. Gladstone was still the idol of the entire Liberal party and leader of a magnificent majority in the House of Commons. The key note of his appeal to the constituencies was warning against entrusting the imperial interests in Ireland to the Tories, whom by repeated innuendo he charged with complicity with Mr. Parnell and a clandestine alliance with those whose audiences were encouraged to cheer for the Mahdi and other enemies of Great Britain. At that time Lord Randolph Churchill, scarcely regarded as a serious politician, looked on askance by the elders of his party, emitted occasional utterances which tickled the populace though they scandalised some of his colleagues.

Now—Mr. Gladstone, still vociferously credulous in the future of his newly espoused policy, applauding the speeches and seconding the aspirations of those who in 1881 were expelled on his motion from the House, supported by Mr. Childers and Sir William Harcourt alone of that triumphant galaxy which accompanied him in 1880 to the Treasury Bench, leads into opposition an insignificant minority of his party retires to the Continent before the Session is ten days old and leaves behind him—a pamphlet.

On the other hand—Lord Randolph Churchill, whose hazardous capacity for creating surprises has perhaps more than any other quality endeared him to the electors—has developed in leading the House a dignified sagacity without surrender of incisive speech that has surprised his followers almost as completely as it has disappointed his opponents. For the first time in its existence the Conservative party possesses a leader who has captured the imagination and engaged the confidence of the people. To do that he recognised early the conditions necessary to attaining it. He

witnessed the transfer of an immense share of political power to the masses; he foresaw that whoever among statesmen should aspire to lead in the future, must be in the strict sense of the word a demagogue—a swayer of Demos. Debarred by the principle he had espoused from the vulgar art of captivating the million by appeals to their cupidity, he first arrested their attention by originality, force and (equally indispensable) frequency of speech. The spirited attacks which he directed from time to time from below the gangway against Mr. Gladstone's Government were more brilliant by contrast with the comparative tameness and torpor of the front Opposition bench, whose occupants seemed stunned by the crushing defeat at the polls in 1880. Soon Ministers learnt that in the boyish and somewhat foppish leader of the Fourth Party they had an assailant who dealt shrewd thrusts, and that his biting taunts were sustained by a fund of historical knowledge and a thorough mastery of the forms and traditions of Parliament.

The hostility and *vis inertiae* which have always to be overcome by an aspirant to political dominance, presented themselves with peculiar intensity in Lord Randolph's path. They were present, it will be recollected, throughout Mr. Disraeli's career, nor did that statesman ever shake himself entirely free from them as long as he was in the House of Commons; indeed the full meed of approbation of his party was actually withheld until his death revealed to them what potent qualities they had lost in losing him. His biting speech and the apparent recklessness of his pen intensified the resistance to Lord Randolph's influence. Even so lately as the General Election in June his address to the electors of Paddington was framed in language which made some of his own party shiver, and lashed the followers of Mr. Gladstone into rage. But he attained the object at which every word in that address was aimed. For every person who read the simultaneous address of Sir Michael Hicks Beach to the electors of Bristol, there were fifty who read Lord Randolph's. To his influence must be attributed the fact, that already the new voters allowed themselves to be weaned from the unwholesome fare spread before them by the same lavish hands from which they

received enfranchisement—fare for which the previous autumn they had shown an avidity in which there was nothing contrary to nature.

To the country labourers of Dorset and the villagers of Suffolk, the Irish Question and the maintenance of the Union, are abstract and unfamiliar questions compared with the promise of three acres and a cow. Not by arithmetic or logic, not by the doctrine of the sanctity of private property, nor by the principles of political economy could the blissful picture of rural content be demonstrated as only a dissolving view, intangible, impracticable. It was, in their vision, defined and brilliant, there was no space on the canvas for Irish pictures. But Lord Randolph's energy and directness of speech sufficed to melt the mirage and show the barrenness of the desert it had veiled.

To the Gallic nature the suspicion of betrayal is ever present; it is otherwise to that of the Teuton, but when the certainty of deception is forced upon him it becomes a cogent force, rousing his indignation and animating all his acts. So, in spite of all the casuistic calculation undertaken by the late Prime Minister since the General Election with the view of minimising the result of the Polls, there can be no reasonable doubt that the directness of the verdict given was owing to the plainness with which the un-English surrender of the Union was proffered in return for Irish support.

In one respect we are inclined to think that Mr. Gladstone was acting under a misapprehension. The success of the Radical party in the autumn elections was very much less than had been reckoned on by its leaders. They had expected to sweep the board; their failure was greatest in the large towns. Precisely here it is that the Irish vote is of most weight: that vote had ostentatiously been ordered to the aid of Conservatives. 'Let us but gain that vote,' Mr. Gladstone reflected, 'and with the English counties at our back we *will* sweep the board.' The vote, at the cost of a riven party, was gained, but its worthlessness, relative to the honest indignation of the masses, may in future complications be freely discounted.

Patience is not easily preserved in dealing with the so-called

historic argument on which Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Scheme is founded. The parallels of Austria and Hungary, Denmark and Iceland, Sweden and Norway, are all fallacious; it is difficult to suppose that Mr. Gladstone in citing them can have been ignorant that the case of Ireland is not in point. Ireland has been called the Poland of England, and the allusion is a ready trick for drawing Radical cheers either in Parliament or on the platform. But the one great point of difference between Ireland's history and those of the conquered nations to which she is compared consists in the fact *that she never was a nation*. In all the other cases autonomy when conferred, was a restoration; it would be so if the Scottish Parliament were re-established, for Scotland became a kingdom under a single Crown in the eighth century. Even the most partial and anti-English of her historians has never claimed as much for the origin of Irish nationality as was begged in Mr. Gladstone's speech.

It may be of service to quote from a historian whose 'Nationalist' (using that word in the modern technical sense) proclivity is undoubted. Mr. Prendergast writes:—

'The Irish nation (in Henry VIII.'s time) was no nation in the modern sense of the word, but a race divided into many nations or tribes, separately defending their lands from the English barons in their immediate neighbourhood. There had been no ancient national government displaced, no national dynasty overthrown; the Irish had no national flag, nor any capital city as the metropolis of their common country; nor any common administration of law, nor did they ever give a combined opposition to the English. . . . The chief or royal tribe in each of the five provinces became allies of the English at the first invasion, as is plain from their receiving the rights of Englishmen to bring and defend actions. They were legally known as the Five Bloods, being the O'Neills of Ulster, the O'Connors of Connaught, the O'Melaghins of Meath, the O'Briens of Munster and the MacMurroughs of Leinster.' *

This knocks the bottom out of the historic parallels. But even if our conscience were so galled by the 'base and blackguardly' nature of the Union, there is no reason why we

* *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, by John P. Prendergast. Dublin 1875.

should re-establish the Gael any more than his predecessors. The Gael was not the aboriginal possessor of Ireland; by successive waves the Celtic hordes, mysterious in their origin, swept over Western Europe. In Britain and Ireland they overcame the peaceful hunters, the neolithic men who preceded them, the dwellers in caves, the builders of 'long barrows' for their dead, the dark-skinned, long-headed, light-limbed Ivernians, whose features and speech remain to this day in the Basque province, and whose descendants might by patient 'mental consideration' (to use the pleonastic phrase coined lately by Mr. Gladstone) be identified in the West of Ireland. But the Gael commands a good many votes; the Celtic idea is in itself an attractive one, not without romance, so it is decided that Ireland is to be handed over to the Gael (the Five Bloods will have to fight the question of precedence among themselves, it is supposed); 'dear old Scotland' must go too, as soon as she is asked for; and 'gallant Wales' must furbish up her heraldry and give the Sassinach notice to quit. It is a noble vista that has been opened before us, apparently interminable. The Scandinavian will not be outdone by the Celt in patriotism: we shall be treated to a united demand for autonomy from the Hebrides, Orkney and Shetland. The Teutonic population of the Lothians and Border Counties must have their national assembly, and so things will progress right merrily until the old faggot, in the endeavour to unbind which so many European teeth have been blunted and broken, will be cast loose and each individual stick in it will be set up on its own account.

It is not likely that the encouragement held out to Scotland to demand Home Rule will induce serious consideration of it by any but a fragment of the population. Scotchmen, in whose breasts true patriotism burns as steadily as in those of noisier folk, have yet a sober sense of the advantage of union with a richer country, which is deeply engrained in the minds of every class. It found coarse but canny expression in the dying Aberdeenshire father's advice to his son, 'Aye be keepin' sooth, Jock.'

Nevertheless it is dangerous and culpable to fan, for party

purposes, the dying embers of national jealousy and suspicion. Wherever there are people of Celtic blood there is inflammable material, and though these are in a manageable minority in Scotland, it would not be difficult to rouse the bulk of Welshmen to claim autonomy and exclusion of English influence—‘Vast in their hopes, noisy, rhetorical, laughers, talkers, sympathetic—such is the character of the early race;’* and such it is still; and to rouse their aspirations to independence, to encourage their natural disinclination to steady work, to foster the sense of grievances inflicted in the Middle Ages is a course to which private interest or morbid ambition have tempted many lesser legislators, but it is one to which those of a higher grade have hitherto happily not been tempted, until the late Prime Minister lent himself to it.†

It would be idle to deny that the question of religion is one

* Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*.

† The Celtic movement is not one that should be ridiculed or lightly regarded. In France the Celtic race has almost swamped the Teutonic blood; Frankish now only in name she exhibits in the frequent and passionate ebullitions of popular political sentiment the outcome of the same racial mobility which caused the early Irish Annals to be one continuous record of bloodshed. In view of the reproductive capacities of the Celt, the large and increasing Celtic population in the New World, and the facilities which exist of easy inter-communication, it is well to note the movement which has been set on foot, having for its practical object the dispossession of the Teutonic race, and to consider the baseless parody of history which is foisted upon credulous audiences. Here are a few sentences extracted from a brief report, in the *Times* of September 23rd, of the Fourth Annual Conference of the Highland Land Law Reform Association, at which three Scottish Members of Parliament assisted.

‘Mr. John Macpherson said he was glad to hear that there was a project of union between Highlanders, Irishmen, and Welshmen. The Celtic race had the first claims on the British Government and the *first right to the possession of the country*, for they were its aboriginal inhabitants. . . . They derived from God and not from man their right and they meant to stick to it.

‘Mr. Stuart Glennie, moved that—whereas Scottish Highlanders, the Irish and Welsh had now common political objects, they should form a Celtic league, of which an elected executive should organize mutual co-operation with respect to their common objects both in the country and in Parliament. This was unanimously agreed to.’

that immensely adds to the dangers of the situation. With the police under the control of an Irish Parliament, it is hideous to think of the scenes that might have been enacted in Belfast during the present summer. Even as matters are, the accounts of a rifle skirmish maintained throughout a summer night in a great commercial city between two forces, whose only quarrel was that one was Roman Catholic and the other Protestant, read more like transactions in a mushroom city of the Far West or the phases of revolution in a shifting South American Republic than any that is possible on British soil within twelve hours of London. It is only necessary to listen to the speeches of Irish members below the gangway to convince oneself that the expulsion or extermination of the weaker party after scenes of horrible carnage, could have been the only result but for the presence of a strong body of English troops. Mr. Morley has said that these would always be at hand to restore order and restrain violence; but they would be called in as a foreign force under similar circumstances to the original settlement of the English in Ireland, when exterior aid was invoked for protection in faction warfare.

The pamphlet which Mr. Gladstone left behind him when he left the leadership of the Opposition in commission, and went abroad in August, has received the attention which it merited. Most eager was its perusal by all who take part in politics, but careful as was the conning of those who still own the leadership of its author, it was even more earnestly pored over by men of other parties to find, if it might be found, some other justification than servile opportunism for the proposals of an eminent British statesman—some refutation of that shamelessness in politics which is to representative government what licentious debauchery is to wholesome nourishment. It is not claiming too much on the score of generosity to a fallen statesman to declare that leading men of all parties sought for and would have accepted gratefully any reasonable explanation of the process of change which had come over Mr. Gladstone's posture towards the demand for Home Rule. Alas! the search was in vain. 'What is true,' says Mr. Gladstone, 'is that I had not publicly condemned it, and also that I had mentally

considered it.' What is equally true—if we grant that what would have passed as condemnation from other lips is to be taken as no more than preliminary criticism of a growing idea—what is equally true is this, that he permitted the nation at large, and his colleagues in particular, to gather that he was resolutely opposed to a separate legislature for Ireland, and that he dreaded above all things that the Tories would be concussed into granting it. And what does he allege was the final symptom that the harvest was come which prompted him to put in the sickle? This fact 'that the Irish demand put forth on the first night of the session by Mr. Parnell with eighty-four Irish Home Rulers at his back, would be confined within the fair and moderate bounds of autonomy, of an Irish legislature only for affairs specifically Irish, of a statutory and subordinate Parliament. But in this incident lay the fulfilment of one of those conditions which were in my view essential, and which had been heretofore unfulfilled.' The deceit of this passage can be most charitably accounted for by the belief that the writer had first deceived himself. For deception, shallow, clumsy, ill-contrived as that of a guilty school-boy, is what has to be dealt with here. Why, for six weeks before the opening of Parliament a scheme of Home Rule, filling the same outlines as those sketched by Mr. Parnell in his 'ripening' speech, was public property. First described in a New York paper, it was minutely discussed by every journal in this country, never disowned and at length divulged in a speech of nearly four hours by him who had conceived it at Hawarden many weeks before Parliament met. A sorry spectacle this—that one whose lot it has been to sway the minds of millions should stoop to a futile effort to delude them. If we could bring ourselves to believe his explanation, if we could agree with him in denying 'that it is the duty of every Minister to make known, even to his colleagues, every idea which has formed itself in his mind,' we must now accept the fact that in the solemn assertions of belief in their finality which he enunciated in passing his Acts for disestablishing the Irish Church and for amending the Land Laws he had himself no faith, he was imposing wilfully upon Parliament and had

all the time in his mind the conviction that one remedy and one only could be found for Irish discontent, which remedy it was consistent with his ideas of duty to conceal absolutely from all his colleagues. Can any confession be more shameless? Can any conduct tend more to shake the public faith in political probity?

It is humiliating to read the tortuous sentences in which the author of this pamphlet tries to disprove the condemnation of Home Rule by the constituencies, and yet accepts the verdict as 'an irresistible sentence' against the twin Bill of Land Purchase, which until the very end of July it was a moral obligation and a point of honour to read as so many clauses of the Government of Ireland Bill. There is more freedom of individual action, of course, in an Opposition than in a Government, but it will be interesting to see if Mr. Morley and Lord Spencer shake themselves free in drafting future Home Rule measures withequal cynicism from the moral obligation which they have acknowledged of protecting the owners of land from spoliation of the rights limited and secured to them by the Land Act of 1882.

Mr. Parnell's bill for the Relief of Irish Tenants which has just been disposed of, is described by Lord Hartington with equal sobriety and accuracy as 'a Bill for stopping, for a time, the collection of rents all over Ireland, and for rendering the eventual collection of more than half the rents a matter of extreme difficulty.' That Mr. Gladstone supported it surprised no one; but even that master of inconsistency disappointed his followers by grounding his support—not on the supposed urgency of the case—but on a wilful perversion of Lord Salisbury's description of the terms of reference to the new Land Commission. Lord Salisbury's guarded allusion to the alleged inability of Irish tenants to pay judicial rents was seized by Mr. Gladstone as sufficient to justify the suspension of the landlord's sole remedy for non-payment. His whole speech was a passionate appeal for the pre-judgment of a case which the Prime Minister had described as one that enquiry might possibly shew to be one to justify a strictly limited interference on the part of the State. Mr. Morley, disdaining such a weak

and illogical argument, resumed that which he employed in his advocacy of Home Rule, which consisted simply in a fatalist surrender to the strenuous agitation of the National League. It appears that his sense of this has overcome his sense of justice and honourable obligation, and that he too is prepared, in future dealings with Ireland, to throw overboard statutory obligations written in ink which has hardly had time to dry.

The proposals of the Government with regard to Ireland, so far as they have been outlined, have met with severe criticism, but that would have been plentifully forthcoming whatever was their nature or, with perhaps more reason, if they had not been indicated at all. The allusion to the assertion of the inability of tenants to pay judicial rents under existing agricultural prices, although freely used as the main argument for Mr. Parnell's bill, has also been denounced as an attack on the taxpayers' pockets as direct as Mr. Gladstone's Land Purchase Bill; but even should the enquiry result in a recommendation to assist out of the public funds the payment of that which has been secured to landowners by statute, the risk of such an advance would be, as pointed out by Mr. Chamberlain in debate, no greater than that involved in the collection of any taxes. Under an Irish Parliament it is plain that a vast tribute, corresponding to the whole or nearly the whole judicial rent of Ireland payed to a foreign government, would rest on a very different footing to the interest on a relatively trifling advance by the Imperial Treasury.

But the opposition to the Government during the August and September Session was a hollow affair throughout. Ireland shares, in spite of herself, the desire of England and Scotland for repose from harassing and disturbing legislation. While we have been wrangling about the right of property our property has been diminishing in value. An universal sigh for steady government has gone up; capital is a shy fowl, easily scared; even the Irish farmer is not so hot-headed as not to know that he has secured substantial and valuable property in the land, and there is a growing tendency among his class to settle down and make something of what he has got. Despite the threats of

disturbance during the coming winter, despite of isolated turbulence in the North-west and South-east, some confidence may reasonably be entertained that affairs will not assume a dangerous complexion ; the consciousness that a Ministry is in power who will disregard the chapel bell and punish those who ring it, will probably convince the people that the business of a government is to govern, and that their best chance of prosperity and comfort is to submit cheerfully to that government in which they have been admitted to a full share.

It is in this belief that it may be said that the advent of the Conservatives to office, supported by the spirit of self-sacrifice which has shown itself among the Whigs, has saved the country from a great peril. A great step, in the view of those who think thus, has been gained by the co-operation of these two great schools of politics. Their tendency must be more and more to unite in a common policy, and the peril to which the State was exposed by the cruel exigency of party over-riding all higher considerations has been, for a long time at least, repelled.

The present Parliament may come to be known in the future as the Parliament of Whips. Never were there so many Whips: the Government, the Gladstonian Opposition, the Unionists, the Irish Home Rulers and the Irish Nationalists, each respond to the monitions of recognized officials ; not only so, but the Extreme Left have, since the Election, decided that those who have until now directed their action have not the confidence of the whole rank and file, so they have obtained a commission for a man of their own kidney in addition. But it will also be known as the Parliament which refused to respond to the dictation of party faction.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

The Philosophy of Religion on the Basis of its History. By Dr. OTTO PFLEIDERER. Translated from the German of the Second and Greatly Enlarged Edition, by ALEXANDER STEWART, M.A., and ALLAN MENZIES, B.D. Vol. I. London: Williams & Norgate, 1886.

To students of theology, Pfeiderer's *Philosophy of Religion* has long been known as one of the best of its kind. To recommend it is almost superfluous. In its old form it was in many respects unrivalled, and there can be no two opinions respecting the improvements it has undergone in the new and greatly enlarged edition from which the present translation has been made. The principal of these improvements are a more extended treatment of the history of the philosophy of religion, including a more detailed statement and criticism of the views of Kant, and the addition of a new section giving a concise sketch of the development of the religious consciousness in its beginnings among the members of the Aryan and Semitic races, and in Christianity. Some attention has also been given to the arrangement of the various parts of the work, and more care has been bestowed upon the style. Altogether, the work has undergone a thorough revision, and has received such material and important additions that there are few who are interested in the subject who will not congratulate themselves on the fact that the translation has been made from the new rather than from the old edition. The present volume (we hope the others are well advanced towards publication) deals only with the history of the philosophy of religion, and only with a part of that history. The history of the philosophy of religion, Dr. Pfeiderer believes, and rightly, begins with Spinoza; but in his introduction he gives a brief yet remarkably compact sketch of the opinions of Meister Eckhart, of the author of the *Theologia Germanica*, of Luther, Böhme, and Giordano Bruno. A sketch of these was necessary. Neither Eckhart, Bruno, nor Böhme attempted a philosophy of religion; yet a clear conception of their position, thoughts, and influence is requisite for a complete understanding of the tendencies that afterwards arose and were represented by such writers as Spinoza, Leibniz, Lessing, Kant, Herder, Fichte, and Hegel. From Spinoza to the present time, Dr. Pfeiderer recognises four distinct periods in the history of the philosophy of religion—the Critical, Intuitive, Speculative, and Recent. The first, second, and a part of the third of these periods are here dealt with. The treatment throughout is admirable, being clear, detailed, fair. As an expositor, Dr. Pfeiderer, in fact, is almost unequalled. His impartiality, freedom from bias, and endeavour to place the opinions of those he discourses of in

the clearest light and truest way are manifest on every page. The chapters on Spinoza, Herder, Goethe, Novalis, and Fichte, are of special interest. So also are those on Kant and Leibniz. That the translation of the present volume has been well done, we need hardly say. The names of the translators are a sufficient guarantee that it has.

Apologetics; or the Scientific Vindication of Christianity. By J. H. A. EBRARD, Ph. D., D.D. Translated by the Rev. WILLIAM STUART, B.A., and the Rev. JOHN MACPHERSON, M.A. Vol. I. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1886.

Apologetics, not apology, is the title Dr. Ebrard has chosen for his present work; and with good reason. His present treatise is not an apology for Christianity's existence, but a vindication of its truth and right to exist. Between the two—an Apology and Apologetics he very sharply distinguishes—Christian apologetics, he remarks, is distinguished from mere apology by this, that it is not determined in course and method by the attacks appearing casually at any point of time, but from the nature of Christianity itself deduces the method of the defence of the same. Every apologetics, he goes on to observe, is an apology; but every apology is not an apologetics. Apologetics is that science which deduces from the nature of Christianity itself what classes of attacks are generally possible, what different sides of Christian truth may possibly be assailed, and what false principles lie at the bottom of these attacks. Apologetics is the science of the defence of Christianity. With the main drift of these remarks we heartily concur. One exception we would take to them is that the word defence is too limited in its meaning to represent the entire scope and character of the science of apologetics. And besides, apologetics is among other things a particular method of defending Christianity—which method the definition of the science ought to indicate. A better word than defence is vindication. This word Dr. Ebrard has rightly placed on his title page, and has undoubtedly done well to emphasize the difference between the older and the modern science. The day for an apology for Christianity has gone. Christianity has no need of one. What is now needed is its scientific vindication—the orderly and scientific exhibition and demonstration of its fundamental truths, and their correspondence with the eternal elements in human nature—a process which of course involves the refutation of errors, and the repulse of such attacks as may be formally made against it. All apologetics will therefore contain a permanent and a temporary element—the one determined by the nature of Christianity and the imperishable part of human nature, and the other by the controversies and erroneous opinions of the day. But the chief work of apologetics must always be to set forth that which is permanent, or the eternal contents of Christianity. To what extent Dr. Ebrard has succeeded in doing this, or with what measure of success he has accomplished the task he has set himself in the treatise before us, the time has not yet come to say. In the volume before us

the work is incomplete; but so far as it goes it promises to be one of great value. The first part treats of the eternal contents of the truth of Christianity, according to the facts of nature and the human consciousness, and is divided into two books, the first of which is necessarily devoted to the consideration of the ethical law and its Author, and the second to the examination and refutation of the systems which are opposed to Christianity. In this second book Dr. Ebrard is of course brought into touch with the prevailing philosophies and systems of the day. The translators seem to have done their work with ability.

Theologischer Jahresbericht. Herausgegeben von R. A. LIPSIVS.
Band V. Leipzig: Georg Reichenardt; London: Williams
& Norgate. 1886.

To students of Theology this excellent annual needs neither recommendation nor introduction. Its utility is well known. The present volume contains an inventory of all the principal theological works and review articles which appeared throughout the world during the year 1885, together with notes of progress and criticisms. Old Testament literature has been assigned to Carl Sigfried; that on the New Testament to H. Holtzmann. H. Lüdemann, P. Böhringer, Fr. Nippold, and A. Werner deal with works on Church history. The section on the literature of the history of religion is from the pen of R. Furrer, while R. A. Lipsius, the editor of the work, has had under his own care works dealing with Dogmatic, the Philosophy of Religion, Methodology, Apologetics, etc. Among the other contributors are J. Marbach, R. Seyerlen, O. Dreyer, and A. Kind. The section on Ecclesiastical Art is by Dr. Hasenclever. As usual the work is well printed and is furnished with an exhaustive index.

Advent Sermons, 1885. By R. W. CHURCH, Dean of St. Paul's,
&c. London: Macmillan & Co., 1886.

The least that can be said about these sermons is that they are thoughtful and suggestive. They have other fine qualities; for instance, they are remarkably fresh and eloquent. At the same time they are simple and direct. The habit of allowing his imagination to play freely around his subject enables Dean Church to follow out his thoughts to a variety of unexpected issues, and to show how the principles or truths he deals with touch human society, its interests and its changes, in ways and at points where their presence is rarely suspected. The first sermon, which is on 'Faith amid Changes,' is a fine example of this. The variety of 'changes' introduced is striking, and the need of men for a sure ground of trust is finely brought out. The second and third sermons are on 'The Kingdom of God.' Here, again, we have the same breadth of thought and fertility of illustration. In the first of these there is the very apposite and suggestive remark that in the Bible the phrase, 'the kingdom of God,' 'the king-

of heaven,' 'has applications more or less limited and special, according to the context; just as our phrase, 'the Crown,' carries with it distinct associations, and stands for powers and functions, differing in sphere and attributes, though through them all runs a connecting thread—according as the crown is spoken of in its legal, or administrative, or political, or personal relations. The last sermon—there are but four in the volume—is on 'Hope.' The subject of all four might almost be said to be the 'Sovereignty of God,' were it not that this phrase having become technical is far from indicating their wealth of variety and thought. We can only add that these are rare sermons, and cannot fail to foster an enlightened and noble conception of the Christian Faith.

Die Pilatus-Acten, kritisch untersucht. Von Dr. R. A. LIPSIVS.
Neue vermehrte Ausgabe. Kiel: C. F. Haeseler. 1886.

It is a matter of no little moment to be able to determine the exact period in which any of those venerable documents bearing on, or pretending to narrate, Evangelic or early Christian history which have come down to us, and which are classed as apocryphal, was written, and to trace it, if not to the hand that wrote it, yet to the ecclesiastical or other centre from which it proceeded. If it belongs to a very early period and bears witness to the existence of a current belief *then* in the events given us in the Gospels, it lends valuable support to their historic character. It is evident, however, that its value depends on our being able to fix its date, and ascertain the character of the source whence it came. These so-called apocryphal writings are very numerous, and the puerile nature of the contents of many of them is apt to make superficial critics regard them as unworthy of serious attention. They have their importance, however, which careful scholars acknowledge. The Acts of Pilate, more familiarly known, perhaps, as the Gospel of Nicodemus, has not been very widely regarded by moderns as of very great value as a testimony to Evangelic history. Tischendorf, by placing its date so early as the first half of the second century, aroused increased interest in it, and since then considerable attention has been devoted to it. Dr. Lipsius in this brochure subjects the work and its history to a very thorough and searching examination. He compares the various recensions of it that exist, and notes and weighs carefully the import of the differences there are between them. These are, as is well known, very considerable. The two principal Greek versions (Tischendorf's A and B) are characterised by many features of difference, so are the Coptic and Latin versions. A lacks a long section which is in B. The Latin versions do not seem to be translations of the Greek texts that have come down to us. The prefaces and appendices vary considerably, and the text has been added to and curtailed in many instances. Dr. Lipsius strips the text of what appear to be later additions, and, getting thus at what he calls the 'Grundschrift,' he seeks to determine from it the date and object of the original work. He has no difficulty in showing that the grounds on

which Tischendorf based his opinion, that the work was a production of the first half of the second century, are invalid, and that Justin, on whose references to the *Acta Pilata* he rested, did not have the work in question here in view. Nor has he any difficulty in establishing, from its own witness, that it is at least post-Eusebian; while he adduces proof that its existence was unknown to that historian. Its chronology of the Passion of Christ is that which came into vogue through Eusebius. It may have been composed, Dr. Lipsius thinks, immediately after Eusebius wrote his Chronicle, or Chronological Canons, and anyway existed in A.D. 376. He dates it, therefore, between 326 and that year. He considers that its object was to discredit and replace the *Acta Pilata* composed at the time of the Gallian persecution in the interests of official heathenism, and which had been made a text-book in the public schools by Maximinian. Its testimony to Evangelical history is, therefore, seen to be of no value. Dr. Lipsius has here produced a most careful, critical study, which will be welcomed not only for the masterly argument as against Tischendorf's somewhat hasty conclusions on the work, but also for the many side lights it throws on the literary activity of the early Church, and the means taken by both the Christian and heathen leaders to forward their own cause and damage that of their opponents.

Works of Thomas Hill Green. Vol. II. London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1886.

The publication of the philosophical works of the late Professor Green, according to the plan already announced by the editor, proceeds apace. We have here the second volume,—somewhat more varied in its contents than the previous one, consisting of lectures on Kant, lectures on Logic, and lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation. Of these, the lectures on Kant appear to us to be the most valuable of the three: not that we do not everywhere have subtle criticism and close reasoning, but because the criticism and reasoning here shew the author at his best. Kant is a congenial subject, and his philosophy affords full scope for the critical exercise of a kindred and sympathetic spirit. It could not, of course, but be that a man of Green's intellectual acumen should be struck with the leading inconsistencies in Kant's positions. The vacillation of the great German philosopher in his views, for instance, of 'Object,' and his partial, and therefore misleading, account of various mental operations and various elements in cognition are animadverted on; but the strictures on Kant's *Ethical* doctrines are, to our mind, the most cogent and noteworthy of any, and we have never seen the points of difficulty in connection with the Kantian moral system more forcibly or more tersely put than they are in a brief section extending over pp. 154, 155. These points of difficulty are laid down as four in number, and they are practically exhaustive:—(1) the opposition of the idea of the moral law to 'experience;' (2) the doctrine that no *result* of any kind can contribute

to, or detract from, the moral goodness of an act; (3) the dictum that the morally good act must be devoid of any *motive*; (4) the demand that the moral law shall be 'objectively necessary,' and yet the admission that hardly any one conforms to it. This is to go at once to the very heart of the matter, and to expose in a nutshell the whole weakness of the Kantian ethics. We are less pleased with the lectures on Logic. They are less sympathetic and more hypercritical; and not unfrequently, we are afraid, the standpoint of the opponent is not quite correctly apprehended. This applies both to Green's criticism of Mansel and to his criticism of J. S. Mill. We have, further, a suspicion that the Professor, in his logical criticisms, occupies too much the standpoint of 'philosophy,' and of philosophy of the *a priori* kind—in other words, forgets the *analytic* character of logic, and demands of this science what it has no right to pretend to, that it shall be both logic and metaphysic. The Political lectures are very striking, and occupy a considerable portion of the volume—pp. 335-553. They are both an exposition and a criticism, with more of exposition than in the two previous cases, though not with less of criticism. 'They were delivered,' as the editor tells us, 'in 1879-80, following upon the course from which the discussion of Kant's moral theory in this volume is taken. The two courses are directly connected, civil institutions being throughout regarded as the external expression of the moral progress of mankind, and as supplying the material through which the idea of perfection must be realised.' This will indicate to the reader the lecturer's standpoint; and the concluding part of the Editorial Note will give, with sufficient clearness, the scope and limits of the course—'The inquiry into the nature of political obligation forms part of a wider inquiry into the concrete forms of morality in general, "The detail of goodness." The lecturer had intended to complete the course by a consideration of "social virtues" and "moral sentiments"; but this intention was not carried out.'

Outlines of the History of Ethics. By HENRY SIDGWICK. London: Macmillan & Co., 1886.

This volume, an expansion of the article 'Ethics' in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, appears most opportunely, and supplies a distinct want in our philosophical text-books. Unlike Dr. Martineau's *Types of Ethical Theory*, it is of convenient length, and troubles the reader with no excessive detail. At the same time the criticisms and summaries are given in a fair and distinct manner. Professor Sidgwick has peculiar gifts in the matter of sifting evidence and balancing arguments. These he has put to use here, and has produced a highly reliable manual. The summary which occupies the first twenty five pages of the volume is admirably done, and despite an unavoidable sketchiness, affords a perfect 'bird's-eye view' of the subject. To our mind the best portion of the book is that relating to the English ethical school. Here Mr. Sidgwick is thoroughly at home. His account

of Butler in particular is a masterly piece of succinct statement. On the other hand Mr. Sidgwick appears to have read too much of his own thought into Plato. In a critical monograph this might be no fault, but it is objectionable in what professes to be a history. His view of Plato is, however, the unavoidable consequence of his misapprehension of the aims and ideas of the Sophists. The concluding sketch of Green and the English Hegelian movement is all too brief; but it effectually entices one to seek elsewhere for further information. Indeed it is the merit of the book that it fosters reading, and for this it has evidently been designed. To have accomplished this its aim is guarantee sufficient for its opportuneness, efficiency, and success.

Scientific Theism. By FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Ph.D.
London: Macmillan & Co., 1886.

The annual meetings of the Concord School of Philosophy form a most interesting and hopeful characteristic of contemporary American thought. Mr. Abbot was one of the lecturers in 1885, and this book is based on what he delivered then. The subject of discussion was the question, 'Is Pantheism the legitimate outcome of modern science?' The peculiar value that attaches to Mr. Abbot's work lies mainly in the fact that he attempts to bring realism and idealism into synthesis. He contends that hitherto philosophy has proceeded upon a mistaken basis. It has been supposed that in the genesis of knowledge ideas, to the exclusion of things external, play the chief part. Science, again, comes with an opposite doctrine. The issue is, Mr. Abbot tells us, between 'Phenomenism and Noumenism.' The former he holds to be the essence of idealism, and he denounces it thus (p. 72)—'Phenomenism is the historical product of the Kantian "*Apriorismus*"; the Kantian "*Apriorismus*" is the historical product of mediaeval Nominalism; and mediaeval Nominalism is the historical product, by a violent and extravagant reaction explicable as historical polarisation, of the earlier mediaeval Realism, which the Catholic Church had borrowed from Plato and Aristotle, and had rendered intolerable in the Renaissance by abusing it to the service of oppressive and unintelligible dogmas.' This is a fair specimen of Mr. Abbot's style. He displays in one conspicuous respect the same failing as his coadjutors of the Concord school; he is too fond of hard technical phraseology. Perhaps this may have the advantage of engendering thought in the reader who has to translate the matter for himself. But it is unfortunate in so far as it repels the majority, making them believe that philosophy is essentially an esoteric pursuit, having but little relation to the work of the everyday world. Again, notwithstanding his denunciation of the idealists in general, and of Kant and Hegel in particular, he is under great obligations to them, more especially to Hegel. The strength of Mr. Abbot's study is largely the result of the historical criticism that he is able to apply. And for this he is indebted neither to positive science, nor to his own scientific realism,

but to the phenomenalism which he condemns. Hegel has taught him history. With regard to the pious opinion that all idealism is phenomenism, Mr. Abbot must surely have misread Kant, to say nothing of the later idealists. He seems to suppose that Kant's *a priori* elements of experience are of the same nature with Descartes' innate ideas. He thus completely fails to apprehend the issue to which Kant, as distinguished from others, —who, by a comprehensive application of the term, may be called Nominlists—brought philosophy. The question was no longer, as with Descartes, or even Berkeley, one of ideas against things, but of how far the very existence of things for a rational being implies some element beyond matter. In so misinterpreting Kant, Mr. Abbot falls into an error which vitiates his entire after reasoning. He takes us back to the standpoint of Locke, and from that goes on to outflank the Hegelian system; and with the usual result. So far from extricating theism from the idealistic phenomenism, he states this as his own doctrine in the most naïve fashion. For he states (p. 128) that 'strictly speaking nothing is intelligible but relations.' If that be so, what becomes of the vaunted realism? Relations must exist between two or more things; and if the relations alone be known, it is plain that the things between which they are still remain unknown 'things-in-themselves.' Mr. Abbot refutes Kant only for the purpose of bringing about an apotheosis of the weakest part in Kant's entire philosophy. But, while thus differing from Mr. Abbot's account of idealism, and dissenting from his synthesis of science and philosophy, we willingly render tribute to his originality and force. He sees clearly the nature of the problem which confronts modern philosophy. New questions, mainly occasioned by the advance of physical science, loom large on the metaphysical horizon. God, freedom, and immortality are no longer quaint notions which any pious but stupid theologian can define, they must be placed on a rational and real basis in accordance with the requirements of destructive criticism, and after the fashion determined by new methods. We believe that this can only be accomplished by a rational and absolute idealism, and Mr. Abbot's conclusions serve but to confirm this opinion. 'The immanent and infinite rational constitution of the universe *per se*, verified by experience as far as experience can go, is the one grand and decisive proof that *the infinite intelligibility of the universe contains no possible origin but the infinite intelligence of the universe itself*' (p. 155). Despite the reservation of 'so far as reason can go,' this is a grand conclusion, and one to which seekers after God can offer no objection.

Mr. Abbot's book is thoroughly frank. He does not turn his materials so as to favour this or that system, but freely stating and as freely discussing the mighty problem of human existence, he proceeds to show how he thinks it may be solved. In this respect many writers might take a lesson from him. It matters little to what philosophical sect one adheres, for the same questions must be answered by all. Mr. Abbot shirks no difficulty, and whatever fault one may have to find with his formal views,

it is impossible to deny their breadth and scope. The spirit in which he has thought, no less than the results of his thought, command our admiration. His book is one which all interested in the 'spirit of the age' should study. 'Scientific theism' furnishes a principle of universal import. 'For the idea of God which science is slowly, nay, unconsciously, creating is that of no metaphysical abstraction spun out of the cobwebs of idealistic speculation, but rather that of the immanent, organic, and supremely spiritual Infinite Life, revealing itself visibly in Nature's sublimest product—human nature and the human soul.'—(p. 218).

The Methods of Historical Study: Eight Lectures read in the University of Oxford in Michaelmas Term, 1884, with the Inaugural Lecture on the Office of the Historical Professor.
By EDWARD A. FREEMAN, M.A., D.C.L., &c. London:
Macmillan & Co. History

A professor, especially one so learned and successful as Dr. Freeman, discoursing of his own ruling ideas and the methods he has adopted in the pursuit of his studies, cannot fail to be instructive. To the student of history and to those meditating its study, lectures such as these are of priceless value. They cannot make up for the want of capacity, but they are so full of hints and suggestions that they can scarcely fail to lead those who use them to make the wisest use of whatever capacity they have, and to turn it to the largest profit; and few, whether students of history or literature, will read them, we imagine, without feeling that they have gained larger and clearer conceptions of the functions of history, and of the relation in which it stands to kindred studies. The first lecture is the one which Professor Freeman delivered on assuming the duties of the Professor of Modern History at Oxford. It is noteworthy for the generous but merited references it contains to Professor Freeman's predecessors in office, and its criticisms of the changes introduced into Oxford during the last thirty years, to many of which, as it is perhaps unnecessary to observe, the author has a decided dislike. To a very large extent, to a much larger extent, some may think, than was requisite, the whole of the lectures are controversial. Following Arnold, Dr. Freeman objects to the division of history into ancient and modern as utterly worthless and unnatural, and argues strongly and successfully for the perfect unity and unbroken continuity of history. Those who examine his lectures for minute rules as to how the study of history should be prosecuted will be disappointed, but at the same time, if they have eyes to see, they will find much which is of immeasurably greater value. Here and there, too, they will meet with a surprise. Not the least surprising will be the opinions Dr. Freeman gives expression to respecting several historical writers whose works have, according to a certain class of critics, been 'superseded.' He has a good word to say for Macaulay and Thirlwall, and even for Mitford; nor does he believe that

Grote has been superseded either by Curtius or Mommsen. The book is packed with the learning and wisdom of a life time, and deserves to be in the hand of every student.

History of the Land Question in the United States. By SHOSUKE SATO, Ph. D., Special Commissioner of the Colonial Department of Japan, &c. Baltimore: N. Murray, 1886. His

This work, which occupies three numbers of the current series of 'The John Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science,' is part of the report its author has prepared for the Japanese government in pursuance of the instructions he received to investigate certain questions of agrarian and economic interest in the United States. As its title imports it is historical. After an introduction of some twenty pages, dealing among other things with the various systems of land tenure in Germany, England, and other countries, Dr. Shosuke Sato traces the history of the formation of the public domain of America down to the Garsden purchase and the purchase of Alaska from Russia in 1867. According to a table he has prepared the public domain has an area of no less than 2,894,235.91 square miles, and has been acquired at a money cost of over 88 million dollars, exclusive of the price paid to the Indians for extinguishing their land titles, and other sums incidental to the various purchases. The remaining chapters deal with the administration of the public domain and the legislation affecting it. The history of the latter is given with considerable minuteness, and is brought down to the passing of the Desert Land Act in 1877. Lands of various descriptions to the extent of over six hundred and forty million acres, exclusive of Alaska, still remain, it would appear, unsold; and in the interest of the nation call for wise, economic and judicious administration. But this Dr. Sato believes to be impossible without a pretty radical reform of the land laws, 'which are much abused by unscrupulous land grabbers.' The right policy for the future is, in Dr. Sato's opinion, summed up in two words, and 'these are Reform and Recovery—reform of legal abuses, and recovery of the public lands from railroad corporations.' Dr. Sato writes clearly and forcibly, and for a foreigner with remarkable accuracy. At the present moment, when the land question is exciting so much interest both in the United States and the United Kingdom, his work will be read with interest. It contains many instructive details, and is in every way deserving of the position the editor of the series in which it appears has given it.

Notes on Historical References to the Scottish Family of Lauder.

Compiled by JAMES YOUNG under the direction of ARCHIBALD LAUDER. Paisley: Alex. Gardner, 1886.

The editor of these *Notes* has no need to apologise for the publication of his handsome, if slender volume. The more notes we have of the kind

the better for the study of the history of the country. It is in the family that to a very large extent the real history of a nation transpires, or has at least its beginning and determining forces, and the more light any one can throw upon the social and domestic state of the past the more he contributes to a just and complete appreciation of those great and outstanding events in a nation's life to which the term historic has hitherto been almost exclusively appropriated. The Lauder family, if it cannot claim to have been one of the great ruling families of the country, has at least played an important part in its history. It has given no fewer than five bishops to the Church, and has been connected by marriage with such families as the Campbells, Hays, Homes, Douglasses and Ogilvies, while a very great number bearing the name of Lauder have held important offices. The appendix contains a vast mass of interesting information, much of which will doubtless be of service to the student of history.

Histoire de Marie Stuart. Par M. MIGNET, Membre de l'Institut. Nouvelle Edition. 2 vols. Paris: Perrin.

The new edition of M. Mignet's *Histoire de Marie Stuart* just published would not call for any special notice in the pages of this *Review*, as it is merely a reprint, but we are glad of the opportunity which thus offers of paying a tribute of respect to the eminent writer recently removed from amongst us by the hand of death. Together with his friend M. Thiers, with M. Guizot, M. de Barante, and Messrs. Augustin and Amédée Thierry, M. Mignet stands foremost on the roll of contemporary French historians. The most popular of his works is the *History of the French Revolution*, but we doubt very much whether the vogue it has obtained will be a lasting one, especially since M. Taine's *Origines de la France Contemporaine* has placed before the public a number of details and incidents till then either imperfectly known or singularly misinterpreted. The *Histoire de Marie Stuart* was published for the first time more than thirty years ago (1851); it then attracted much notice, but chiefly on artistic and literary grounds, for the sharp controversy which has been stirred up around the memory of the unfortunate Queen of Scots in connection with M. Froude's violent attacks was still a matter of the future, and although the guilt of Mary Stuart was generally regarded as satisfactorily established, no one had yet arisen to break a lance on her behalf with the energy displayed later on by M. Wiesener, and the legal acumen exhibited by Mr. Hosack. When we say that M. Mignet takes Buchanan as his guide, accepting implicitly the statements contained in the *Rerum Scotticorum Historia*, we shall have revealed his sympathies. Buchanan and Thuanus are constantly referred to by him; now we know that for the affairs of Scotland the latter of the historians is satisfied with almost copying the former, never taking the trouble of ascertaining whether his authority is trustworthy. We do not mean to take part either on the one

side or on the other in this curious and interesting discussion ; we merely say that M. Mignet, without acquitting Elizabeth of perfidy and of thirst for vengeance, is of opinion that Mary Stuart really deserved her fate. The work we are now noticing is not the only proof of the attention bestowed by M. Mignet upon the progress of the Reformation in Europe ; he has also written about Calvin, Philip II., and Charles V., and leaves behind him, if we mistake not, an immense collection of other documents which he purposed working into a continuous history. Let us hope that these materials may at some not far distant period be found available for publication.

Memorials of the Life and Letters of Major-General Sir Herbert B. Edwardes, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.C.L., etc. By his Wife.
2 Vols. London : Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

It is almost to be regretted that Lady Edwardes did not see her way to write a 'Life' of her accomplished and distinguished husband. With the materials in her possession such a work was possible, and even if but fairly done, would have obtained more readers and a wider popularity, we imagine, than the two bulky volumes before us are likely to do. The contents of these volumes are somewhat miscellaneous. We have poems, private letters, official dispatches and memoranda, extracts from official and other publications, and addresses. The method adopted in arranging them has involved frequent repetitions, which occasionally induce a feeling of weariness or impatience, but the result of the whole is a clear and vivid impression of a very noble and genuinely Christian life spent in the cause of duty, with a zeal and devotion often unrecognised. Edwardes was not a man to publish his own fame, and fame can scarcely be said to have taken him by the hand. It may be said, indeed, that even recently there has been a tendency, and in fact a direct attempt, to ignore his services, and to assign honours which rightly belong to him to others. Not the least valuable effect of these memorials will be to clear the atmosphere of misunderstandings and misconceptions, and to direct attention to the immense services rendered by Edwardes to the country in India during the Mutiny. Though belonging to an old Welsh family, Edwardes was born in Shropshire, in 1819. He was educated at King's College, London, and intended going to Oxford and studying for the bar, but his guardian opposing him, he applied personally to Sir Richard Jenkins, then a member of the old Court of Directors and a friend of the family, for an Indian appointment. Going out in 1841, on his arrival in India he obtained a lieutenancy in the 1st Bengal Fusiliers. His celebrated 'Brahmines Bull Letters' attracted the attention of Henry Lawrence, then Resident in Nepal, who on his appointment to the Sikh Court at Lahore, prevailed on Sir Henry Hardinge, then the Governor-General, to appoint Edwardes, who in the meantime had been placed on the personal staff of Sir Hugh Gough, one of his assistants. Between Lawrence and Edwardes a warm friendship grew up, which was never

broken—Edwardes being commissioned in later years by the relatives of Sir Henry to write his life. At Lahore there was no lack of work, and before he had been long there Edwardes was sent in command of a Sikh force to make, if possible, an amicable financial settlement of Bunnoo, an Afghan valley west of the Indus, which had long been in arrears of revenue, and for a quarter of a century had resisted all the efforts of Runjeet Singh, 'the Lion of the Punjaub' as he was called, to reduce it to obedience. Edwardes proposed the plan of a regular military reduction; his plan was approved, and with the assistance of his five hundred men and two troops of horse artillery, in the short space of three months he levelled the walls of four hundred fortified villages, built a strong fortress in their stead, and ran a military road through the heart of the valley, by these means entirely subjugating it. While engaged in completing his work here, he was suddenly called away to avenge the death of Lieutenant Anderson and Mr. Agnew, who had been foully murdered at Mooltán. With a small force hastily gathered and the assistance of Bháwul Khan and General Courtland he won the battle of Kingéree, 'the Waterloo of the Punjaub,' then moved on to Tibbee, joined Lake, fought the battle of Suddoosám, shut up Moolráj, the leader of the rebellion, in the strong fortress of Mooltán, and kept him there, until General Whish came up and compelled him to surrender. Edwardes' greatest works, however, those by which he will always be remembered, are the treaty he negotiated with Dost Mahommed, the Ameer of Afghanistan, and the gallant stand he made in the Punjaub during the Mutiny. The documents which Lady Edwards has here printed leave no doubt whatever as to the part which Edwardes played both in connection with the treaty and in the retention of the Punjaub. Nor do they leave any doubt as to the attitude assumed by Lord (then Mr.) John Lawrence. The latter was opposed to the treaty, and during the Mutiny proposed that Pesháwur and the Trans-Indus should be abandoned and Dost Mahommed invited to take possession of them and hold them as a reward for his neutrality. It was Edwardes' determined opposition to this proposal that drew from Lord Canning the celebrated telegram 'Hold on to Pesháwur to the last.' But for the proofs of this we must refer our readers to Lady Edwards' volumes. We have hinted at scarcely one tenth part of the interesting contents of these memorials. They contain much that is extremely valuable, and none will read them without feeling that Edwardes was one of those men whom any country has good reason to be proud of, and whose lives are worth writing and reading both for the enlightenment they bring, and for the impulses and incentives they give to noble living.

Speculations from Political Economy. By C. B. CLARKE, F.R.S.
London: Macmillan & Co.

The speculations in this pleasantly written volume are of somewhat unequal value. They are all on topics at present under political

discussion, and some of them are deserving, slight as they are, of particular attention. The first, on 'Efficiency of Labour,' goes down to the roots of national prosperity, and is worth volumes of the trash with which the labouring classes have for some years past been dosed by their so-called leaders. One point Mr. Clarke is at pains to bring out is, that every rise in wages gained by the workmen, unless springing from or in conjunction with increased efficiency, will tell against themselves; and the lesson he tries to bring home to them is that the one great object of the workman, both as an individual, a trade, and a class, should be to improve the efficiency of his labour. Prosperity, individual and national, he maintains, depends on this; and the most important practical aid to it, he points out, is piecework. Mr. Clarke is a thorough-going free-trader; he advocates free trade at all our ports, in railways, and in land, and is opposed to government interference in all matters of trade or commerce. The pet scheme of small farms and peasant proprietors he smites hip and thigh, and shows that with the single exception of bird farming, the advantage has hitherto been and always will be with the larger farmer. The least satisfactory of the speculations is that on the ransom of the land. The chapter on reciprocity may be read with profit by Fair-traders.

The Law and Custom of the Constitution. Part I.—Parliament.

By Sir WILLIAM ANSON, Bart., D.C.L., etc. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886.

In the work of which we have here the first instalment, Sir William Anson has undertaken to describe the law and custom of the constitution of the United Kingdom, and to give just so much of their history as is necessary, to show how they have come to be what they are. The task he has imposed upon himself is one of extreme difficulty and is beset with many temptations; but, so far as the present volume goes, the manner in which it has been executed cannot be too highly praised. Referring the student to the classical works of Hallam and Stubbs for the fuller treatment of the history of the constitution and to the admirable work of Mr. Bagehot for an account of its practical working, the author indulges neither in criticism nor speculation, but confines himself in the present volume to the simple purpose of showing what the existing law and practice of Parliament are and of giving such notes on their growth as suffice to put those who desire further information on the subject in the way of obtaining it. These notes it was impossible to dispense with, and though for the most part brief, they form one of the principal features of interest in the volume. The first three chapters are for the most part introductory to the whole work. The first of them is devoted to defining the place of constitutional law in jurisprudence; the second contains a brief sketch of the history of the constitution in which the leading features are clearly set out; and in the third some of its peculiarities are noted. Some of the points brought out in these chapters are very striking, and though passed

over without criticism, afford matter for reflection. To take an instance: the function of the State was at first to enforce custom, but 'to a modern House of Commons,' as Sir William Anson remarks, 'it is almost enough that a practice has prevailed for a long time to create an impression that such a practice must need examination and revision.' In the third chapter, where the contradictions between the theory and the practice of the constitution are referred to, it is pointed out 'that our constitution is a somewhat rambling structure, and that, like a house which many successive tenants have altered just so far as suited their wants at the time of their possession, it bears the marks of many hands. It is convenient rather than symmetrical. A similar observation has been made before, but we do not remember to have seen it made in so effective a way. As already remarked, the present volume deals with the law and custom of Parliament and of the legislative branch of the constitution, the treatment of the executive being reserved for the succeeding volume. Having described how Parliament is brought together, adjourned, prorogued, and dissolved, the author proceeds to deal with the three elements of which a Parliament is composed, the Crown, the Lords, and the Commons. These are treated in the reverse order, the Commons, though not the most ancient, being taken first as the most important and most complete. Here the points considered are, who may be chosen for the House of Commons, who may choose, how they may choose, and what are the special privileges possessed by the House of Commons collectively, or by its members individually. In the chapter devoted to the Lords analogous points are considered. The heading of the next chapter is 'The Process of Legislation.' Here Sir William Anson speaks with the same reservations respecting the absoluteness of the legislative sovereignty belonging to Parliament as Professor Dicey, and after sketching the history of legislative procedure, proceeds to describe the ordinary procedure of the Houses in respect to Public Bills, Money Bills, and Private Bill Legislation. Next are treated the functions of the Crown in Parliament, then the conflicts which have arisen between the executive and the legislature; and lastly we have a chapter devoted to the consideration of the legal duties of Parliament as a high court of justice. The fulness and clearness with which all this vast variety of topics is dealt leaves nothing to be desired. The book is one which no student of constitutional history can safely dispense with, and which no constitutional lawyer or student of politics will willingly overlook.

Humanities. By THOMAS SINCLAIR, M.A. London: Trübner & Co. 1886.

Humanitätstudien. Von THOMAS SINCLAIR, M.A. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt von HANS SCHIFFERT MÜLLER. Strassburg: Trübner, 1886.

Mr. Sinclair has a sharply skeptical, perhaps we should say, a sharply cynical, turn of mind, and takes no trouble to hide it. In some respects

he is a true child of Humanism, though here and there one fancies there is evidence in his *Humanities* of a slight absence of that sweetness and light which we have been taught to regard as the crown and perfection of Humanism. Be that as it may, with Mr. Sinclair Humanism is the one thing worth living for. For Hebraism, Judaic Christianity, and 'the monstrosities of Peter and Paul,' he has almost a supreme contempt. 'Because of their too excellent logical faculty the Scottish people,' Mr. Sinclair tell us, 'are the most Judaized section of Christendom, and to them at some periods music itself as an art was an unclean thing.' According to the popular reading of Scottish history this is probably true, but a deeper glance into it than is usually taken will show that in the Scottish nature there is a strong Gentile strain and that the conflict between Humanism and Hebraism has been as intense in Scotland as in most places. But to turn to Mr. Sinclair's essays; their titles are: 'A Latin Tractate,' 'The Origin of the Roman Race,' 'Latin Verses and Latin Pronunciation,' 'The Growth of Languages,' 'Humanism,' 'Letters to England.' The underlying theme of all of them is the superiority of Humanism. Mr. Sinclair is a thoroughly original and thoroughly unconventional thinker, and writes with a caustic and trenchant pen. His essays are exceedingly suggestive. To those who wish to look at men and their affairs from another than the conventional point of view we strongly commend all that Mr. Sinclair has written both here and in his previous volume *Quest*, which we noticed some time ago. At the same time we must not be held as committing ourselves to accept all he has said. To the German translation, which, so far as we have examined it, seems to be well done, Herr Müller has prefixed a graceful preface, in which he gives a brief account of the author, and his own reasons for translating the work.

Industrial and High Art Education in the United States. By I. EDWARDS CLARKE, M.A. Part I.—Drawing in Public Schools. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1885.

This report has been prepared by Mr. I. Edwards Clarke in response to a call by the Senate of the United States for all the information in the possession of the Department of the Interior relative to the development of instruction in Drawing as applied to the industrial or fine arts, as given in public educational institutions of the country, with special reference to the utility of such instruction in promoting the arts and industries of the people. It is a somewhat bulky compilation. We have here only the first part, but it extends to slightly over eleven hundred pages. The value of its contents, however, is unquestionable. They are exceedingly miscellaneous, but no one who is interested in the highly important subject with which they deal will wish that the report were shorter; or that the appendices were less numerous or less varied in their character. To say that the report is exhaustive is, to give but a very inadequate idea of its fulness,

while to attempt to give anything like an idea of the vast variety of information which the appendix contain is here impossible. Information has been sought and obtained in all quarters, not only in America, but also in Great Britain and in the countries of Europe. Not the least interesting, if not the most valuable, part of the volume is a series of fourteen papers by the author of the report dealing with the direct and indirect relations of Art to education, industry, and national prosperity. They are written with knowledge and judgment. Three points are distinctly brought out; that instruction in industrial art ought to find a place in any system of national education, that the nation which turns its attention most persistently and with wisdom to the cultivation of this branch of art is destined in the long run to take the lead in manufactures and commerce; and lastly that during recent years, more especially since the Centennial Exhibition, the cultivation both of the fine arts and of industrial has undergone an almost marvellous change. The report we should add is not only for the educationist; it deserves to be read and studied by merchants and manufacturers, and not less by those who take an interest in art.

From Schola to Cathedral: a Study of Early Christian Architecture and its Relation to the Life of the Church. By G. BALDWIN BROWN, M.A., &c. Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1886.

Among the many subjects of controversy in connection with Christian art, none is of more importance than the one Professor Baldwin Brown here undertakes to deal with. Up till quite lately the universal opinion was that the forms of the Christian Church were derived from the Pagan basilica. Writing in 1690 Ciampini, in his *Vetera Monumenta*, says: 'After the pattern of the ancient basilicas many sacred buildings were erected by the Christians, and retain to this day the name of basilicas. Many also of these old basilicas were turned to sacred uses, and dedicated to divine service.' The same view has been expressed in such recent works as the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, and in neither of them is there any hint that it has ever been seriously called in question. Yet since Zestermann attacked it in 1847 a somewhat voluminous controversy has been going on, chiefly in Germany, as to what the real origin or origins of the Christian meeting-house was. By one writer or another it has been found in the classical temple, the Jewish temple, the synagogue, the crypt and memorial cella of the cemeteries, in the private hall, and even in the atrium, *alæ* and tablinum of the Roman house. Professor Brown, adopting the same theory as Dr. Lange of Halle, though unable to agree with him in his attempt to rehabilitate the old theory of the acquisition of the Pagan basilicas by the Christians in the age of Constantine, finds the beginnings of Christian architecture in the Pagan *scholæ*, the lodges, halls, or buildings in which the funeral and other similar societies of ancient Rome were in

the habit of holding their meetings. In the discussion of the problem Professor Brown enters largely into the position of the Christian Church under the Roman emperors of the first three centuries, and brings out many interesting details both in connection with Christian and with Pagan life. In the second chapter he draws largely on the literature of the period, and attempts, not without success, to convey an idea of the various buildings, *scholæ*, private halls, cemetery chapels and subterranean chambers, in which the members of the early Church were wont to assemble for united worship. The third chapter deals with the basilican form, its use among the Romans and the Jews, its adoption by the Christians and its decoration. This last leads up to some extremely interesting but all too brief paragraphs on 'Early Christian Art.' The origin of the terminal apse, and its importance in Christian places of worship, also come in for discussion, and are dealt with cautiously and in the same spirit of impartiality that characterises the rest of the work. Briefly summing up the results of his argument towards the close of this chapter Prof. Brown remarks: 'The Christians met first in private halls, and when they erected buildings for themselves, these took the form of unpretending lodge-rooms or *scholæ*; they also assembled on occasions in or before the *cellæ* of the cemeteries. At the end of the third and in the fourth century larger buildings were needed, and side aisles were added to the simple halls, which were now lighted in the basilican fashion. Partly as a reminiscence of the *exedrae* of the cemeteries, but chiefly as a natural consequence of the use to which these buildings were put, they received universally an imposing apsidal termination, which gave them a marked architectural character. Accordingly there is produced from a union of all these elements THE CHURCH OF THE FOURTH CENTURY, with its fore-court and fountain reminiscent of the private house, its oblong plan and tribunal or seat for the president, derived from the primitive *schola*, its apse and *confessio* recalling the *cella* of the cemeteries; but in its size and grandeur, its interior colonnades, its roof and its system of lighting, a copy of the pagan basilica of the Roman cities.' The fourth chapter deals with 'The Domed Church and Byzantine Art,' while the fifth and last is devoted to the 'Development of Christian Architecture in the West.' We have said sufficient, however, to show that the work is fraught with intense interest, and is destined to exercise an important influence. Some of the illustrations are wrongly numbered, but in every other respect Mr. Brown's pages are admirable.

M. ROUAM'S ART PUBLICATIONS.

Les Styles. 700 gravures classées par époques. Notices par PAUL ROUAIX. Paris: J. Rouam; London: Gilbert Wood, & Co.

Eugène Delacroix devant ses contemporains: ses écrits, ses Biographies, ses critiques. Par MAURICE TOURNEUX. (Bibliothèque Internationale de l' Art), 1886.

Phidias. Par MAXIME COLLIGNON. 45 gravures. (Les Artistes Célèbres), 1886.

Fra Bartolommeo della Porta et Mariotto Albertinelli. Par GUSTAVE GRUYER. 21 graveurs. (Les Artistes Célèbres). 1886.

Dictionnaire des Émailleurs depuis le Moyen-âge jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe Siècle. Par EMILE MOLINIER. 1885.

Dictionnaire des Marques et Monogrammes de Graveurs. Par G. DUPLESSIS et H. BOUCHOT. A-F & G-O, 2 vols. 1886.

Dictionnaire des Fondateurs, Ciseleurs, Modeleurs en Bronze et Doreurs depuis le Moyen-âge jusqu'à l'époque actuelle. Par A. DE CHAMPEAUX, A-C, 1886.

Les Emblèmes D'Alciat. Par GEORGES DUPLESSIS.

The excellence, both literary and artistic, which has hitherto invariably characterized M. Rouam's art publications, is gradually winning for them a considerable circulation in England. At the present moment it would appear that they have obtained a circulation sufficiently wide to warrant the establishment of an agency for them in London. Whether the statement with which M. Ernest Chesneau opens his work on the education of the Artist, that throughout Europe art is in its decadence be true or not, the fact we have just noticed would seem to corroborate the exception he subsequently makes in favour of England. That art is making its way among us, there can be no manner of doubt. Better tastes prevail and it is becoming rare to find any one who can boast of anything like a liberal education, who does not take a more or less lively, if not enlightened, interest in all manner of art. The volume we have placed first on our list is one which is calculated to meet the wants of many, more especially of those who wish to become acquainted with the leading features of the various styles of art and the history of its development in France. It is a sumptuous folio volume in which most of the various styles of art are more or less fully illustrated. The illustrations are arranged according to epochs beginning with the art of ancient Egypt and coming down to French art under the Empire. Singularly enough the art of Assyria is unrepresented. Greece is scarcely so well represented as it deserves to be, though the Greco-Roman and Byzantine styles are ably and abundantly illustrated. The representatives of the Gothic style are well chosen, though here probably greater variety may be desired. But it is to French art from the time of Louis XII. that attention has specially been directed. In illustrations of this the volume is exceedingly rich. A final chapter contains a number of illustrations from Oriental art including Chinese and

Japanese as well as Arabian. M. P. Rouaix's notices have the merit of being clear and precise, and quite sufficient to mark off the characteristics of the different epochs. At the end of the volume a glossary of art terms is given. M. Tourneux's volume is one of those works which involve an immense amount of labour and are exceedingly useful to the student and the amateur. After a chapter devoted to Delacroix and his critics in which the attitude of the latter towards the master is fairly sketched, M. Tourneux proceeds to give what may be called a complete bibliography of Delacroix's writings and works and of the articles and works which were written about him. Many, in fact most, of M. Tourneux's articles are followed by notes, which to say the least are both informing and interesting. By admirers of the great Frenchman, the volume will be highly esteemed. The two volumes which follow next in our list belong to M. Ronam's excellent series of 'Celebrated Artists.' To write the history of the legend of Phidias is, M. Collignon well remarks, much easier than to write the history of his life. Brilliant as his prestige is, many of the facts of his life are involved in the greatest obscurity. Ottfried Müller, Boulé, MM. de Ronchaud, Michaelis and Petersen, among others, have contributed greatly to a better understanding of the great Athenian sculptor's biography and to the identification of his works; and relying on these, though not entirely, M. Collignon has written an account of Phidias and his work which will undoubtedly commend itself to its readers both on account of its narrative, and because of the light it throws on the condition Greek art at the period with which it deals. With Fra Bartolommeo, the ardent disciple of Savonarola and the friend of Raphael, whose works were executed for the most part under the shadow of the cloisters erected by Michelozzo Michelozzi, and who next to Fra Angelico was distinguished for his gentleness and austerity, M. Gruyer has united Mariotto Albertinelli, who for three years, from 1509 to 1512, was with the consent of the Superior of St. Mark associated with him, notwithstanding the divergent nature of their sentiments, in his work. Fra Bartolommeo is the principal subject of the volume. Albertinelli is only dealt with only as the collaborateur of Bartolommeo. Like the other volumes of the 'Celebrated Artists,' both these are profusely illustrated. The next four volumes on our list are, we believe, the only volumes which have yet appeared of M. Rcuam's *Guides du Collectionneur*. If the following volumes are their equals in excellence, the series cannot fail of success. Handier and more useful volumes of the kind we have not seen, and small as they are their compilation must have involved a vast amount of labour and research. In the first M. Molinier gives an alphabetical list of the workers in enamel from the middle ages down to the end of the last century, noting in most instances their country, date and place of birth, principal works, place of work, school, and signatures or signs. The length of the articles is proportioned to the artist's celebrity. Many of them do not exceed a few lines, while to

a few, such as the Limosins, several pages are devoted. Each article is a model of clear and condensed statement. In the avant-propos M. Molinier gives an admirably lucid, and, though brief, comparatively full sketch of the history of enamelling and of the various ways in which the art is applied. At the end of the volume we have an excellent bibliography both general and special, and a list of the principal European collections. M. M. Duplessis and Bouchot, while not undertaking to give a complete list of the marks and monograms of all the engravers, intend to select for representation those of the principal artist. Here and there in the two parts before us exception may be taken to a name as not that of one of the great masters, but as the authors explain in their introduction, such names have been selected either because their owners have produced one or more pieces of work that deserve to be remembered or for some other equally good reason. The method of classification adopted is that for the most part of Brulliot and Nagler; the marks and monograms have been executed with care; and the notices of the engravers are all that can be expected in a work of the kind. M. Champeaux's work is executed with skill, and will prove invaluable. In almost every case he gives at the end of his articles the authorities to be consulted for further information; the number of those which has consulted himself must, we should say, have been immense. Handier or more useful books than these *Guides* promise to be, we have not seen. M. Duplessis has here compiled a list of all the known editions of that once famous but now little known book, Andrea Alciati's *Book of Emblems*. The number of editions registered is a hundred and twenty-six. For his knowledge of several of them, M. Duplessis has been indebted to Mr. Green, to the value of whose biographical and bibliographical study of Alciati he pays a handsome tribute. Here and there M. Duplessis has added a valuable note respecting some of the more remarkable editions. Prefixed to the work is a preface of some interest. Attention is called to the signs and monograms of the engravers, and fac-similes of several of the quaint old title pages are given.

The Revised Psalter: Psalms and Other Portions of the Revised Version of the Holy Scriptures selected for Musical Rendering. By Rev. A. MACLAREN, D.D., and J. A. MACFADYEN, D.D. Revised for Chanting and set to Music by Rev. W. RIGBY MURRAY. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co.

This book is intended for use in Non-conformist churches, and the selection of Psalms and other passages of Scripture seems to have been judiciously made. The musical editor has also bestowed great care on his portion of the work. The selection of chants has on the whole been well made. We are afraid, however, that the arrangement adopted in the printing of the work may sometimes lead to confusion. 'The arrangement of the lines and verses as in the Revised Version' has been followed. This may assist

the eye and mind of the reader,' but where the arrangement of the printing conflicts with it, it is not likely to assist the singer. As a general rule each line of the psalm corresponds to a member of the chant; but occasionally two lines of the verse are given to one strain, and in other cases the line is broken up and given to two phrases of the music. This is apt to be confusing. Mr. Murray rightly lays down the principle that the words set to the reciting note 'should be recited at the same pace, and in the same way precisely as they would be in intelligent reading;' but he contravenes his own rule by introducing an accent, and saying that the accented syllable should be held a trifle longer, while he admits that the syllable so marked is not that which would be accented in good reading. If chanting be musical reading, why call an unnatural halt on some syllable on which emphasis should not be laid. The accent we believe to be a purely imaginary necessity, and we are sorry Mr. Murray had not the courage to discard it altogether, and adhere consistently to his principle that 'the words should be recited in the same way precisely as they would be in intelligent reading.'

The English Illustrated Magazine, 1885-86. London: Macmillan & Co., 1886. Periodicals

Among the longer papers of this volume, those entitled 'London Commons,' 'Days with Sir Roger de Coverley,' 'Through the Côtes du Nord,' 'A Month in Sicily,' and 'In Umbria,' deserve special mention. 'Fashions in Hair' is a series of interesting studies. Mr. Stainland has a number of admirably illustrated papers on 'Lifeboats and Lifeboat Men.' There is a charming paper on 'Charles Kingsley,' and another on 'Charles Lamb in Hertfordshire.' Mr. Syme contributes an excellent paper on Sir Thomas More, and Mr. Laing Meason tells the story of a somewhat perilous adventure in Afghanistan. Some of the page engravings are excellent, particularly the studies of heads, and one or two interiors. The volume is full of varied and interesting matter, and as an illustrated sixpenny the excellence and profuseness of its illustrations make it the most tempting of the monthlies.

The Church and the Franchise (Nisbet & Co.) is an attempt by Mr. Lamb of the Inner Temple to bring home to his readers the responsibility involved in the possession of the Franchise, and to point out the causes of the present disorders in the Church of England. Mr. Lamb's opinions are well and clearly put, and deserve careful consideration.

In Doctor Shedd's *The Doctrine of Endless Punishment* (Nisbet & Co.) we have the doctrine respecting the fate of the wicked treated from the orthodox point of view. The last of the three chapters of which it consists, and which bear the titles 'The History of the Doctrine,' 'The Biblical Argument,' 'The Rational Argument,' were originally printed in the *North American Review*. The other two, or the new chapters, are welcome additions. Dr. Shedd writes calmly and with a profound conviction of the

truth of the doctrine he maintains. He illustrates it with skill and, as we need hardly say, with considerable learning. Altogether, his work is a valuable contribution to an old and well-worn controversy.

After thirty-six years Mr. J. J. Garth Wilkinson has issued a second edition of his biographical sketch entitled *Emanuel Swedenborg* (J. Speirs). The preface to this edition contains brief notices of the principal biographies of Swedenborg which have appeared since Mr. Wilkinson's was first published, notably of the critical and candid work of Mr. William White. Mr. Wilkinson is not a blind follower of Swedenborg, and writes with discrimination and force. His work is handy in size and condensed. Those who wish to understand Swedenborg and his doctrine cannot do better than read it along with the larger work by Mr. White.—From the same publishers we have *The Issues of Modern Thought*, a series of eight lectures by the Rev. R. L. Tafel, A.M., Ph. D., dealing with such topics as What is Truth, Revelation, Faith and Reason, Correspondence and Evolution, Modern Theosophists and their teaching. Mr. Tafel writes with great clearness, and his lectures, though here and there marred by phrases which strike the ordinary reader as curious and technical, are extremely suggestive, and well worth reading because of the new light they throw upon the various topics with which they deal, and the new aspects in which they present them.

In *Christ our Life* (Nisbet & Co.), the Rev. F. Whitfield gives a number of readings or short services and quiet meditations which will be found extremely useful both for private reading and as substitutes for sermons or addresses in cottage meetings.

The same may also be said of the Rev. Andrew Murray's little book from the same publishers entitled *With Christ in the School of Prayer*, in which in thirty-one 'lessons' he deals simply and effectively with the art and doctrine of prayer in their various aspects.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

L'ART (July 1st and 15th).—In the conclusion of his article on Meindert Hobbema M. Emile Michel draws a parallel between Hobbema and the great master of Dutch landscape, Ruysdael, in whom he finds a fecundity, a force of sentiment, a poetical elevation to which his contemporary is foreign. From this he proceeds to a critical examination of some of Hobbema's best productions, amongst others of 'The Windmill' which he considers his master-piece. The second paper is by M. Paul Lafond, and gives a slight historical sketch and a minute description of the chapel attached to the 'Hospital Saint-Blaise,' a

building erected about the second half of the 11th century for the accommodation of pilgrims to the shrine of Compostella.—The remainder of the number is devoted to the 'Salon'.—An excellent etching by M. Edmond Ramus of M. Beraud's portrait of the elder Coquelin accompanies this number.—It is announced that *L'Art* and the whole of the publications of the French Library of Art will in future be published simultaneously in Paris, and 175 Strand, London.—In the second of this month's numbers there is, besides the excellent and splendidly illustrated 'Salon de 1886,' but one article. It bears the title, 'A Preaching Musician' (*Un Musicien Prêcheur*). Did we not see the signature of M. Adolphe Jullien, we should feel inclined to attribute it to Mrs. Weldon, whose bitterness against Gounod scarcely surpasses that displayed in these illustrated pages.

L'ART (August 1st and 15th).—The Rijks Museum recently opened in Amsterdam is described by M. Emile Michel, who is obliged to allow that the severe criticism of which, from all sides, it has already been the object, is only too well deserved.—Together with a few notes on Horace Regnault, the young artist whose career was brought to a premature close by German bullets, M. P. Burty communicates some letters, chiefly bearing on the paintings 'Salomé' and 'Prim.' One of these interesting documents closes with a characteristic post-script which is well worthy of being quoted; it was written during the first period of the war: 'Si "Dios quiere" et si nos armées sont victorieuses je vous enverrai mes petits tableaux. Si nous sommes vaincus, je lâche peinture et je m'engage pour manger quelques Prussiens.'—After the addition to the 'lettres d'Artistes et d'Amateurs' of four of Paul Huet's letters, the number closes with a few pages by M. Gruyer on Fra Bartolommeo's sketches.—The number published on the 15th has three pages in conclusion of M. Michel's description of the Rijks Museum of Amsterdam. The remainder is devoted to the concluding notice of the 'Salon.' Besides a great amount of information concerning not only the exhibits but also the exhibitors, it relates a little incident with regard to M. Ringel and the Academy which is a fit 'companion' to the blunder of which M. Robin was the victim, if indeed it was he who was the victim.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 3. 1886).—There are three articles in this number, all of them by men of note, and each of them full of interest. The first is by Professor Albert Réville, and is on the Emperor Julian. Noting the diversity of opinion expressed by historians and critics as to the character of Julian, he proposes here to reproduce the principal facts of his life and features of his policy, and then seek to determine from these what Julian really was. In the portion of his essay contained in this number, Professor Réville gives a succinct but full resumé of Julian's early life and his conduct of the Gallic campaign up to his assumption of the purple, and the death of Constantine, which followed so shortly and opportunely after it. The second article is by M. Hartwig Derenbourg on 'the Science of Religions and Islamism.' It was the opening lecture of the course begun by him in his capacity as Lecturer on Islamism and the Religions of Arabia in *L'Ecole des Hautes Etudes*. A new 'section' or 'faculty,' as we should call it, has this year been added by the enlightened liberality of the French Government to those already existing in connection with that Institution—the 'Section des Sciences Religieuses.' It consists of ten different lectureships, or chairs. M. H. Derenbourg was appointed to that on Islam and the Religions of Arabia, and here he discusses in his opening lecture (1.) What the Science of Religion is, and what its methods of investigation are; (2.) Islamism itself, the mission of its prophet, and the authenticity and authority of the Koran; and (3.) its theology, its morality, and the secret of its success up to the present day. He dwells, in conclusion, on the benefits to be derived, by those especially who are to occupy offices under Government in Mussulman countries, from a minute acquaintance with the Koran, which forms the basis of a Mussulman's education, and whose language and teaching colour all his thoughts and are ever being reflected in his conversation. The third paper is by Professor Kuenen on the work of Ezra. It is a reply to M. J. Halévy's critical strictures on note IX. of Kuenen's *Hibbert Lectures*, which appeared in the pages of the *Revue de l'histoire des Religions*,

last September. In his article M. Halévy had characterized the Dutch theologian's note (note IX.) as *un plaidoyer magnifique, plein de distinctions et de pénétration, mais qui a l'inconvénient de passer toujours à côté de la question véritable*. This, and some personalities in the course of the paper, seem to have stung Professor Kuenen, but time having softened their effect upon him, he here supplies the arguments which M. Halévy charged him with not furnishing to support his position as to Ezra's rôle in connection with the Sacerdotal Law, and demolishes, somewhat unmercifully, those which M. Halévy advanced in support of his.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (July).—In a work published last year and noticed by us at the time, Professor Stricker of Vienna endeavoured to establish a new theory with regard to 'Language and interior sounds.' He maintains that the representations which we have of language, and of singing depend upon certain impulses which we communicate to our muscles and by means of which we articulate the words, or sing the melodies which we have in our mind. In the lengthy article now before us, he defends this view against two opponents, M. Paulham and Herr Stumpf. The former of these contends that we may represent words to ourselves as purely auditive or visual images, whilst the latter asserts that we may have in our mind the representation of sounds which proceed neither from auditive, nor visual, nor motor images.—A short but very suggestive paper by M. Ch. Féré, deals with impotence and pessimism. Individual and collective happiness—such are the writer's conclusions—may be summed up in the accumulation of power. Progressive evolution tends to multiply the production or, more exactly, to increase the development of power to the profit of mankind. This progressive development has for its result the augmentation of the general good and the levelling of social conditions. Every individual or collective tendency towards this accumulation, constitutes a virtue, every tendency towards destruction constitutes a vice. Now, if every accumulation of power constitutes happiness, and, if every loss of it produces unhappiness, it follows that happiness and virtue, vice and unhappiness are indissolubly united. To complain of everything would therefore seem to be an acknowledgment that we are fit for nothing; indeed, this is practically what the only true pessimists, suicides, assert. Pessimism is the characteristic of the impotent of every kind, like crime and madness, it is a decay of psychic evolution.—The first instalment of M. Guardia's 'Philosophes Espagnols' is a valuable contribution to the history of Philosophy. It deals with Doña Oliva Sabuco. This very able sketch of the works of a woman who, in Spain and nearly three hundred years ago was bold enough to approach philosophy, medicine, politics and the reformation of abuses, and to dedicate her book to Philip II. himself, is the more acceptable, that, although Oliva Sabuco has had panegyrists, particularly, of course, amongst her own countrymen, her philosophy has never yet been subjected to a critical analysis, such as M. Guardia has here undertaken.—The 'Revue générale' which is now a special feature of this periodical, treats of recent studies on social science. There are also a number of analyses of recent philosophical works, amongst others of Wundt's 'Essays.'

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (August).—M. Joly opens this number with a paper on 'Sensibility and Movement.' In his introduction he explains that by 'sensibility' he understands 'the pleasure or the pain of which a living being is conscious when it re-acts against external excitation by modifications proper to itself.' From this he goes on to argue at great length that it is not correct to lay it down as an absolute law that pleasure develops movement and that pain corrects it.—Amongst those who have made the phenomena of hypnosis their speciality considerable discussion has of late arisen owing to the very marked differences in the results obtained at the Salpêtrière and at Nancy. M. Charcot's subjects pass through three distinct phases, lethargy, catalepsy and somnambulism, whilst those experimented upon by M. Beaunis show no sign of these three stages. Professor Delbœuf here comes forward with a number of experiments to show that this apparent contradiction is merely a matter of education and imitation, and due to the special training through which the two schools of experimenters unconsciously put their subjects.—M. Noël contributes an article in which he examines into the psychological conditions of the concep-

tion of number. The question is not new, neither is the solution which he gives of it absolutely original. In one respect, however, he differs from preceding enquirers. He lays special stress on the connexion between the idea of space and that of number. Indeed, the immediate object of his paper is to show that this connexion is essential, and that the conception of number is inseparable from the conception of space.—Amongst the various notices which complete the number there is a very full analysis of Seth's 'Scottish Philosophy.'

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (September).—In continuation of his study on 'Sensibility and Movement,' M. Joly passes on to the consideration of the principal sensible cause of motion: need (*besoin*).—A second instalment concludes M. Guardia's essay on Oliva Sabuco.—The only complete article in this number is one which M. Tannery devotes to 'Anaxagoras's Theory of Matter.'

BIBLIOTHÈQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (July).—Notwithstanding all that has been recently written and spoken regarding bimetalism in this country, M. Henri Hentsch's contribution to the controversy may be recommended as well worthy of consideration. It is temperate, lucid, and striking. He gives a strong series of arguments to support his conclusion that there is no reasonable ground for the alarm felt in consequence of the abundance of silver, and that, on calm consideration of the matter, we need not be uneasy for the future. A gold standard he believes to be not yet practicable and contends that bimetalism, in spite of its drawbacks, is so indispensable that, if it did not exist, it would have to be invented. In a wise regulation and expansion of the system he sees a solution of difficulties which he holds to be more imaginary than real.—M. Paul Stapfer continues his exhaustive review of the work and genius of Victor Hugo and Mme. Hélène Menta's interesting novelette 'Hortense,' is brought to a satisfactory conclusion.—The first instalment of an exceedingly pleasant sketch, 'Souvenirs d'Artiste' by the well-known French artist Leleux, is prefaced with a sympathetic biographical note by M. Ed. Tallichet.—In a concluding paper on the question of 'Imperial Federation,' M. Léo Quesnel discusses at some length M. Froude's opinions as expressed in 'Oceana,' which have been abundantly reviewed in our own press.—Perhaps the most attractive contribution to the number is the final instalment of M. Auguste Glardon's charming biographical study 'Louis Agassiz.'

BIBLIOTHÈQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (August).—In 'L'Histoire de la Philosophie,' M. Ernest Naville traces in a very readable and compact sketch the various efforts of mankind, in Europe, to work out some reasonable theory of the existence of the universe. In the present instalment he reaches the sixteenth century.—A new novel 'Le terne fatal,' by M. Honoré Méren opens effectively in Florence, and gives a striking account of the Italian lottery system.—'Les Origines Russes,' by M. Louis Léger, carries us back to the early days when a Slav tribe had settled as the successors of a Finnish people on the shores of lake Thnen and the banks of the Volga and established the basis of Russian nationality.—The concluding instalment of M. Stapfer's elaborate study of Victor Hugo is mainly devoted to the great reform in poetic language and the method of versification, which he effected.—M. Armand Leleux's attractive 'Souvenirs d'Artiste,' is also brought to a close.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (September).—It is a little surprising to find in a Swiss periodical what we do not remember to have met with in our own magazines, an admirable account of Australian literature. Marcus Clarke's powerful novel 'The Natural Life' is almost the only work of fiction that may be described as well-known in this country, and the Australian poets are not even familiar to us by name. After all it is not difficult to account for this state of matters, but it is a little curious that foreigners should seem to be more interested in our colonial literature than ourselves.—M. Emile Julliard describes Constantinople and life amongst the Turks, a subject with which most Englishmen are fairly well acquainted.—M. Naville finishes his masterly sketch of the History of Philosophy; and M. Méreu's story 'Le terne

fatal' rapidly develops in interest.—'Quatre Jours' a narrative of a Russian volunteer left helpless for four days on the battle field, is a remarkable piece of realistic work by M. Garshine.—An estimate of the character and abilities of General Boulanger will be read with interest as coming from a correspondent who, though nameless, is, we are assured by the *Editor*, in a position to form a trustworthy opinion. According to the writer, Boulanger possesses little of the qualities of a great statesman, but with all his defects, he is far above the average of French generals and even French ministers, and appears to be marked out for a high destiny.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (August 1st).—Continuing his article on 'the two Empresses,' Signor Bruniati describes the married life of Queen Victoria, quoting largely from Her Majesty's Journal. He describes the political reforms, etc., that have taken place during her reign, and concludes his article as follows: 'we have here all that is comparable in the two very different pictures; Catherine Queen of a vast territory consisting generally of level plains; Victoria mistress of a hilly island, of which twenty times the extent could be comprised within the bounds of European Russia; Catherine mistress of a people of mild and yielding temperament, almost without initiative and bowed down by centuries of servitude; Victoria reigning over a relatively compact population, full of energy and good sense, active and persevering, dutiful to law and proud of its ancient liberties. The one conducts alone the affairs of state, traces the designs of reform, and expresses an entirely personal opinion; the other scarcely shows herself, leaves an almost absolute liberty of action to her ministers, and scarcely comprehends (?) the value of the legislative and economical innovations that are carried out. The one casts off all sense of morality, and surrounds herself with favourites, to whom she allows comparative liberty of action, but nevertheless always subject to her imperious will; the other is a model wife and mother, and treats like a queen the ministers whom the will of her people, expressed by Parliament, places at her side. In Catherine we find all faculties rooted in the intellect, in Victoria they come from the heart. In the one all sacred family affection is silent, religion is an instrument of government, her country is the plaything of her ambition, and her elevated sentiments are either pretence or disguise; in the other an affection for her husband is paramount, so that she lives in his life for twenty years, and another twenty in his memory. Catherine stamped an indelible trace in history; Victoria will leave little but her name to the period of English history which shows the greatest general progress. To those who only value the great events of history, and lay weight on the results of an epoch, without regarding distant consequences, one of these two queens will appear as great as the other mediocre. The greatest figures in Catherine's reign, Potemkin, Poniatowski, Soltikoff, the three Orloffs, Pannie, Ostermann, are all far below that of the Empress; while Queen Victoria is far from rising above Wellington, Pitt, Palmerston, Canning, Beaconsfield, or Gladstone. But when one considers the causes that led to such different events, and values all the consequences; when one inquires what Russia was at the death of Catherine, and what England was after forty years of Victoria's reign, then indeed one must acknowledge that there is something greater than grandeur, more glorious than glory; that there is an ambition superior to all others, that namely, of modestly contributing to the felicity and glory of a great people, without neglecting one single personal duty, the very different nature of the two peoples, the contrast of their histories, their different treatment by nature, all this does not suffice to explain the still greater difference of the results to which they have arrived: in these results the reigning sovereigns had a part, and that part was most useful when most modest, when it respected the laws of nature, and paid homage to the moral sentiment. In the family circle, in the tranquil quietude of Windsor and Balmoral, surrounded by husband and children, Victoria experienced joys and affections denied to Catherine even in the culmination of her glory, in the triumph of Pruth, and the spectacle of the Crimea. The joys of the heart are more elevated, purer, holier than those of the intellect, and are rarely refused to any. We are mistaken when we think that only those are to be praised, who earn the applause of the crowd and leave an impress on history;

the gospel says just the contrary: 'Blessed are the humble, and the poor in spirit for theirs is the kingdom of heaven,' and sometimes also that of earth. It is told that when Catherine of Russia died, a prolonged gloomy sound was heard in her room, almost as if the spirit of evil that had gained her soul was waiting to take possession of it. The memory of Victoria will endure amid the blessings of all who lived under her rule, because her eccentricities will be soon forgotten, but the virtue of her domestic example, the justice with which she ruled, and the benefit of the great reforms of her reign will be ever remembered.'—(August 16th.).—In concluding his paper on the Bulgarian Crisis, Mr. Grabinski prophesies that some day, which will perhaps arrive sooner than many persons think, the Turkish Empire will fall like a worm-eaten edifice, crushed by the insults of mankind. Then the struggle between Slavs and Greeks will be re-kindled more violently than ever, and it is probable that the Greeks will be worsted, for the future belongs to the young and vigorous nations, and the Slavs, rid of the Turkish yoke, will show an energy worthy of a great future, while the Greek race, far from re-realizing the glorious traditions of Athens and Sparta, will only imitate the fatal negligence of the Byzantine Empire.—P. Magistretti commences a very interesting paper on 'Rays of light in the Divine Comedy,' examining the manner in which Dante treats of light in all its aspects, and comparing his treatment with that of other poets.—Then come some fragments of A. Rosmini on the Philosophy of Law.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (Sept. 1st).—J. Isola continues his criticisms of Comte's Positivism.—U. Ugolino closes his description of the Congo and its commerce.—E. A. Fonerto describes some recent publications on Count Cavour.—G. B. Salvioni writes on rural co-operation in Venetia, describing its progress, and prognosticating the great good it will do. The following figures will give some idea of its extent. At the end of 1885 there existed Loan Societies in eleven communes, consisting of 778 members, and loans were advanced to the amount of £5,120.—A. Morena contributes more chapters on Economical Reform in Tuscany.—The political review, speaking of England, says that it is very probable that her disturbed internal condition contributed to urging Russia to the *coup d'état* in Bulgaria.

LA CIVILTÀ CATTOLICA (August 7).—The leading article on Hypnotism continues to them what it is and has been, and promises to prove that its phenomena have not a simply natural character, but that they often hint at some occult and malefic cause.—The contemporary chronicle, speaking of Lord Halifax's speech on Church union, says that men who think and speak in such a way are not far from the Kingdom of God.—(August 27).—The first place is occupied by an article against the idea that the one thing necessary for Italy is the possession of Rome.—The chapters on Hypnotism are continued.

LA CIVILTÀ CATTOLICA (September 4) contains more on Hypnotism, and a first article on the difference in conventions between Church and State, and those between nation and nation.—(September 18).—The second article on the one thing necessary for Italy, declares it to be the restoration of the Pope's liberty, and the abandonment of keeping possession of Rome, with or without the Pope.—The chapter on Hypnotism proves from the report of various physicians that the practice is prejudicial to health.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (August 16th.).—E. Pauzacchi contributes a short monograph on Franz Liszt.—G. Pieruili commences a paper on 'The Blue Leaf' and the first Roman cista. The 'Blue Leaf' was the surname of the *Conciliatore*, a journal issued in Milan in 1818, which was much persecuted by the police on account of its liberal tendencies.—Alete Cionini publishes some interesting autographs of members of the House of Savoy which are kept in the Civic Museum at Turin. There are two, one of the late King of Italy, and one by the present Queen, which are not without interest. The first has no date, but, being addressed to the Marquis d'Azeglio, when president of the ministry, must have been written between 1849 and 1852. It has no historic or

political value, but serves to show the late King's simple and sincere character. It runs, 'Dear Massimo, Having returned from Pollenza (a royal villa in the province of Cuned) to-day, I advise you of my arrival at Moncalieri. If some minister has a report to present, please let him come to-morrow morning from nine to ten, or from half-past twelve to half-past one. If you have anything urgent to tell me, let me know by the bearer this evening. *Ciao*, dear Massimo, your affectionate, Victor Emanuel.' The second is a few lines from Queen Margaret to Massimo d'Azeglio, merely a quotation, 'To Marquis d'Azeglio, founder of the Civic Museum of Turin, *omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci visentem delectando pariterque monendo*. Margherita, 2nd Dec., 1883, Roma.'—G. Biagi contributes an account of Tullia d'Aragona, who inspired a number of Italian poets of the sixteenth century.—Then follows a translation of Wordsworth's 'Michel' by G. Zanelli.—An 'ex-diplomatist' writes on alliances, and considers it probable that Russia will separate herself from Austria and Germany, in which case the friendship of Italy will become much more valuable to Vienna and Berlin, and the Italian Government ought to take advantage of such a state of things.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (Sept. 1st.).—After four sonnets by the Italian poet, G. Carducci, this number continues the article on 'The Blue Leaf' and the first romance writers. The paper by O. Marrecchi on ancient and modern transformations in Rome, treats of Rome during the Republic and under the Empire, describing the edifices and monuments then erected.—G. Boglietti writes a lucid and effective article on Lombardian patriotism, *apropos* of two recent publications by T. Massarani and R. Boufadini.—Signor Bonghi writes on Leo XIII. and his last acts, describing the Pope's ideal, which Bonghi declares does not resemble that of Christ. He grieves at the absence of the true ideal namely, a Christian Church which would apply the balsam of her comfort and compensations to the evils of lay society, without requiring a price that cannot be paid, namely that of declaring that all the fruit of the intellectual and moral discoveries of at least three centuries, is false.—(September 16th).—commences with a criticism of a recent translation of Heine's Book of Songs, and of Zaidi's rendering of various love-songs and poems by Goethe.—Professor Pellicciante contributes a long and earnest article advocating a military education in Italian schools, during the present imperfect condition of family life in Italy.—Sig. Bonghi has an article on foreign policy in Italy, which policy he desires should not be presumptuous, but also not humble, not concealing but revealing its own opinions; conscious of the dignity of Italy's being not only the most ancient civilization in Europe, but the one most resolute in vindicating, in relation to the peoples, the ideal of truth and justice. It does not matter if Italy be alone in proclaiming that ideal, for in time both the power and credit to accomplish it will come, as they always come to nations, as well as to individuals, who have a persevering character and frankness of speech. Firmly fixed on such a base, Italy should act according to differing circumstances, keeping her conduct and judgment as free as possible, and only holding fast to her right of neither being willing nor able to content herself with her present proportions, in case of the increase of the proportions of the other powers. If Italian foreign policy adhered to such a conception, Italy would be more highly respected by other governments. Italy does not wish to intimidate other nations, but they must be made aware that she has no fear of them.—The political review opines that Bismarck cannot delude himself with the hope that peace can last long; and that, though he occupy the Reichstag with international questions, it will certainly be only with the aim of obtaining from the new assembly new funds for the purpose of strengthening the army.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (July).—Though only a translation 'The last Battle of the Priest Augustin' is one of the best things in this month's number. It is by Salvatore Farina and is fully worthy of his well-earned reputation.—The next item closes the 'Reminiscences of Gustav Nachtigal,' which have thus run

through no less than five numbers.—It is rather difficult to discover what special object Herr Friedrich Ratzel had in view when writing his paper on 'The Geographical Picture of Mankind.' There is a good deal in it about Herder, because he wrote a work with a somewhat similar title. The remainder is taken up with an exposition of the differences which exist between various races, and which, being merely accidental and not essential, do not, we are told, —surely we might have been told in less than a score pages— affect the theory of the unity of the human race.—An archaeological contribution from the pen of Herr Ernst Zitelmann gives a very interesting account of the discovery at Gortyn, in the island of Crete, of an important inscription which, from the explanation of it here given, seems to have been a collection of civil statutes. The value of the inscription may be estimated from the fact that it contains more than 600 lines, and more than 17,000 letters.—In a further instalment of a series of sketches of California, Herr Reyer devotes a chapter to the 'diggings' as they were some thirty years ago and as they are now. He furnishes some interesting details concerning the gold supply of California. Since 1848 it has produced about £250,000,000 worth of gold, for a long time it yielded more than a third of the produce of the whole world. In the first ten years of the gold era £10,000,000 came every year from the Californian diggings. About 1860 this fell to about 6 millions. At the beginning of the present decade it was as low as 2½, and now that the soil is exhausted of its mineral wealth, it is no longer at the diggings, but by agriculture that gold is to be got.—For some years a kind of crusade against foreign words has been waged in Germany. It has got to be looked upon as a mark of independence and a proof of patriotism to avoid the numberless phrases and expressions which formerly made a perfect mosaic of colloquial German. Unfortunately, some reformers have allowed their enthusiasm to carry them the length of endeavouring to proscribe not only foreign words but words of foreign origin and to replace them by home produce. Herr Otto Gildmeister raises his voice in protest against this new abuse. He shows that many words imported from other countries have become so familiar that their German synonyms would scarcely be intelligible, whilst others are absolutely without any German equivalent. The whole tone of his article is adverse to either extreme. It seems strange that so common-sense a view should require such strong advocacy.—In a few very interesting pages, Professor Friedländer communicates his reminiscences of Turgeneff as well as several letters which are well worth reading.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (August).—For some unexplained reason the present number contains no instalment of the serial 'Martin Salander,' and the novel-reader must be contented with the conclusion of Salvatore Farina's sketch and a short story, 'Leben,' from the pen of Frau Marie von Olfers.—Herr Reinhold Koser contributes a very detailed account of the last days of Frederick the Great, the hundredth anniversary of whose death occurred on the 17th of August. The materials for this paper are taken from the letters of the Cabinet Minister, von Herzberg, who had been staying at Sans-Souci since the 11th of July, as the King's guest, and whose correspondence with Count Finkenstein, with von der Goltz, the Prussian ambassador in Paris, with von Thulemeier who was accredited at the Hague, and with the Princess of the Netherlands, the king's niece, enables us to follow step by step the progress of the fatal illness. Herr Koser has also made use of an account drawn up by the Crown Prince a few weeks after Frederick's death. It may interest the curious in such matters to learn that the last recorded words of the dying monarch were, 'La montagne est passée, nous irons mieux.'—The *Rundschau* does not fail to bring its tribute to the memory of Joseph Victor von Scheffel. Although various circumstances had prevented Scheffel from appearing often before the literary public of late years he was still the most popular of contemporary German writers. This was abundantly proved by the national ovation which greeted him on the 16th of February, 1876, the fiftieth anniversary of his birthday. Throughout the length and breadth of the Fatherland all classes and all parties united in doing him honour. From Koenigsberg to

Constance, from Oldenburgh to Breslau, from colonies and settlements far beyond the limits of the empire, from every part of the globe where the German tongue is spoken, poems and addresses, telegrams and diplomas, poured in upon him. Even 'the man of blood and iron,' the mighty Bismarck himself, wired his congratulations from Berlin. At the banquet given to the poet in his native town of Carlsruhe, the Grand-Duke of Baden sat at the head of the illustrious guests who had come together in his capital to celebrate the jubilee of the most famous of his subjects. As a crowning honour hereditary nobility was conferred upon Joseph Victor Scheffel, and the magic *von* prefixed to his name. But a surer proof of popularity than even this may be found on the title-page of Scheffel's works. Within thirty years of its publication his 'Trompeter von Säkkingen,' the poem in which he first revealed his rare and charming poetical faculty, has gone through one hundred and ten editions; of the collection of songs to which he has given the name of 'Gaudeamus,' a thirty-fourth edition appeared at the beginning of the present decade; whilst his novel 'Ekkehard' has reached a sixty-fifth edition.—In a sketch of at least as much interest to English as to German readers, Herr Albert Duncker supplies some valuable information concerning the English players in the pay of Moritz Landgrave of Hesse. Amongst these actors we find the names of Robert Browne, John Webster, Thomas Sackville, John Breadstreet and Ralph Reeve. Some of the plays performed by them are 'Gammer Garton's Needle,' 'Fausat,' 'The Jew of Malta,' 'Romeo and Juliet,' 'Julius Caesar,' 'Hamlet' and 'King Lear.' This was about the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century.—Besides reviews and notices we have another essay on the use of foreign words. The anonymous writer protests even more strongly than Herr Gildmeister against the unconditional surrender of terms which, though of foreign origin, have become indispensable for the accurate expression of modern ideas.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (September).—The number with which the *Rundschau* closes the twelfth year of its existence will be found rather heavy by that voracious yet dainty creature 'the general reader.' In the way of fiction it has nothing to show beyond the last chapters of Herr Gottfried Keller's 'Martin Salander.'—Amongst the other contributions we naturally give the preference to the lengthy paper which Herr Heinrich Geffcken devotes to the British Empire and the Colonial Exhibition. Not only does it contain such a description of the exhibition itself as may almost console those who have not had the pleasure and advantage of visiting it, but it also conveys concerning the colonies themselves, such information as will be perfectly new to a very large number of the many thousands that daily flock to it.—A considerable amount of instructive information, though of a vastly different kind, is to be gathered from Herr Weismann's essay 'Ueber den Rückschritt in der Natur,' a title which, for want of a better rendering we shall give as: 'Retgression in Nature.' The object of the paper is to show that progress is not synonymous with further development. This is illustrated by an abundance of apt and well-selected examples from which it appears that in the case of many animals progress has actually resulted in the loss of limbs or organs which the species originally possessed.—A philosophical study on Pessimism, and a paper on painting, which is not altogether light reading to a layman, complete the list of the 'articles de fonds.'

DE GIDS has had for its *pièce de résistance* for the last two months a historical sketch of Emilia von Nassau, a daughter of William the Silent.—The September issue has several papers of interest. Professor de Goeje writes on the Arabian Nights Tales; he recognises the affinity of the story of Scheherazade with that of Esther, the names being probably the same, but holds the Tales to be an Egyptian work, embodying certain materials from Persia, and dates it in the second half of the fifteenth century. De Sacy and Lane place it a century later. He gives translations of two Bagdad stories of the twelfth century. He concludes by extolling Lane's translation of the tales, and deprecating the unnecessary fulness and coarseness of Burton's.—Hr. Joan Bohl proves that Dante knew Homer in the original, pointing out that there were no complete

translations of the Homeric poems in his day, while the partial translations were bad, and could not have afforded the knowledge of Homer which Dante shews. —Hr. H. Viotta writes on Franz Liszt, and vindicates his truly religious and beautiful character. He tells a story of Liszt playing at a concert at the Opera in Paris, when the members of the orchestra which was accompanying him became so absorbed in listening to a solo he had to execute, that at the *ritornel* they all forgot to fall in, and in place of the expected '*tutti*,' there was a dead silence.

THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT. —Dr. Kuenen writes on a work entitled *Verismilia*, published this year by Dr. A. Pierson and Dr. G. A. Naber, the former of whom gave up theology for literature some years ago, while the latter is a Professor of classical philology. They take up the work of reconstructing the history of the New Testament as classical scholars who think their outside position gives them a clearer view of the matters theologians find it so hard to settle. They start from the Pauline Epistles, with the statement that as they stand these Epistles are quite unintelligible, and then proceed to treat them as pieces of patch-work, which consist largely of *Jewish fragments*, the work of a liberal Jewish sect existing before Christianity was heard of at all, in which questions of the theory of the Messiah were discussed, and which were afterwards interwoven with pieces of his own writing by a certain Paulus Episcopus, whose name the Epistles then bore. The Acts were written partly with the view of explaining the historical position of this Paulus Episcopus, who by that time had fallen into oblivion; and the Gospels contain the views of all the different Christian sects as to the Christ, whose religion that Paul had brought into vogue. This theory, of which we can of course only indicate the most salient features, has a likeness to that of Dr. Loman, but is carried out with much less learning than that redoubtable champion commands; and Dr. Kuenen disposes of it by simply denying that any such liberal Jewish sect as it presupposes ever existed, or that there ever was such a person as Paulus Episcopus. When we consider the position which the Apostle Paul occupied, and the nature of the questions he had to deal with we cannot expect his writings to be otherwise than difficult; but Drs. Pierson and Naber have exaggerated the difficulties, and treat notions and phrases as unintelligible and absurd which can be shewn to have been the current coin of thought in the Apostolic Age. —The difficulties of the Pauline writings are dealt with by another writer in the two last numbers of this magazine. J. H. A. Michelsen conducts a critical inquiry into the text of the Epistle to the Romans, in which he follows often slight indications of the Codices for new readings, and in some cases puts forward suggestions which have no MS. support. In this way some of the most formidable passages become easy, and Paul loses much of the character which Peter gave him. No dispassionate judge will deny that much may possibly be done for the Epistles in this way; but in this country it will be long ere scholars consent to have their Paul made easy—his difficulties are sacred to us, and it would never do to give up the time-honoured sport of worrying them.

WESTERMANN'S MONATS-HEFTE (July). —In the first of this quarter's numbers ample provision is made for readers of light literature. It opens with the first instalment of 'Gertrud Frey,' a tale of which the plot is laid in a village of the Palatinate, at the time of the French Revolution; the signature is that of Herr August Becker. —A second story bears the singular title 'Macdonald's Mother-in-law,' not because it is founded on an episode of Scottish history or is intended to be a sketch of Scottish manners, but simply because one of the characters who figure in it once appeared at a fancy-ball in the garb of the ancient Gael. —As Herr Villinger has labelled his contribution: 'Die Mutter,' a novellette, it also falls to be mentioned here, though all that we can say for it is, that we have never yet had to notice so uninteresting a production in the *Hefte*. —In a very interesting paper which he entitles: 'Kastell on the Saar and John the Blind King of Bohemia,' Herr August von Cohausen not only sketches the career of the prince whose heroic death at Crecy is one of the familiar facts of history, but also relates the many chances and changes owing to which the remains of the warrior who fell in 1346 did not find a last resting-place till 1838.

As might have been foreseen the three ostrich-feathers, with their motto 'Ich dien,' are duly mentioned but—as it will, doubtless, astonish many to learn—only to be consigned to the limbo of popular historical fallacies. Herr Cohausen informs us, on the authority as it seems, of the present Emperor of Germany, who is descended, in the seventeenth degree, from the King of Bohemia, that the well-known motto borne by the Prince of Wales has no connection with the battle of Crecy and is not German. He pronounces it to be Welsh, 'Eich Dyn,' to mean 'Here is your man,' and to have been uttered by Henry II. at Caernarvon, when, taking his infant son in his arms, he presented him to the Welsh as the prince, born in their own country and not speaking a word of English, who had been promised them.—An excellent article on 'Count Tolstoi,' the Russian novelist, is contributed by Herr Scholz, who not only furnishes some interesting biographical details, but also indicates the outlines of the writer's chief works.—Biography claims another item in the table of contents; it is the 'Wicked Baron,' a sketch of the career of Heinrich von Krosigk, who fell near Möckern in 1813, and who had been thus nick-named by the French on account of the mortal hatred which he bore them.—Another very readable article is from the pen of Herr Turk who supplies some interesting details concerning the history, management, and present position of the 'North-German Lloyd.'—The last paper which we have to mention is the second and concluding instalment of Herr Wold's description of the South Sea Islands.

WESTERMANN'S MONATS-HEFTE (August).—Herr Becker heads the table of contents with a second instalment of his story 'Gertrud Frey.'—From Herr Berthold Litzmann we get a very complete account of Devrien's 'Luther' composed for the festival which took place at Jena in 1893, as well as an explanation of the motives which have led to the formation of a society 'for the periodical representation' of the play.—A capital paper contributed by Herr M. Giese contains a description of the valley of Ampezzo, with special reference to its geological curiosities.—The article on 'Frederick the Great and Music' appeals to a wider circle than its title might at first seem to indicate, for besides dealing with the king's musical attainments it relates a number of very characteristic anecdotes as to his treatment of the musical celebrities that adorned his court.—'Fontainebleau' by Herr J. E. Wessely is excellent reading; it not only gives an historical sketch of what we may call the rise and progress of the royal residence, but it introduces notices and anecdotes of the famous artists who helped to adorn it as well as of the court beauties who made it the scene of their intrigues. The illustrations to this article are particularly interesting.—Herr M. Folticeneano brings to light no new facts in his article on 'Cervantes,' but he has the merit of putting together in attractive form all that is known concerning the adventurous career of the great but unfortunate Spaniard.—In travelling through Italy Herr Ludwig Weissel has had the good sense and the good fortune to deviate from the beaten track so that his descriptive sketch takes us not to Venice, Milan, Florence and Rome, but through the less known but scarcely less interesting districts of Umbria and Tuscany. His first instalment is devoted to Sienna, and his treatment of the subject shows that he has not followed the advice given to travellers by one of his countrymen, which is to 'look at mountains from their foot, churches from the outside and taverns from the inside.'

WESTERMANN'S MONATS-HEFTE (September).—The vacancy in the French Academy caused by the death of Victor Hugo has been filled up by the election of Leconte de Lisle, a successor whom he may be said to have chosen himself. For a number of years no election took place at the Academy without at least one vote being recorded in favour of Leconte de Lisle, and this vote as was well-known was Hugo's. It was also an understood thing that if de Lisle, himself an old man, should outlive his persevering protector and admirer, he would succeed to his vacant 'fauteuil.' But who is this Leconte de Lisle who has been thought worthy of a place amongst the 'immortal forty?' Many a Frenchman would, doubtless, be at a loss to answer the question. He is a poet of considerable power, but, in everything, the antithesis of Hugo, and this may

doubtless account for the fact that instead of enjoying the immense popularity of his predecessor, he is known to comparatively few, even in France. Readers of the *Hefte* have therefore all the more reason to feel grateful to Herr Ferdinand Gross for the sketch which he gives them of the new Academician, in which he contrasts his peculiarities of thought and diction with those of the author of 'La légende des siècles,' and, in short, supplies as much information concerning him as will doubtless satisfy most people, and possibly, too, make some wonder at Hugo's persistent enthusiasm.—Herr Pröhle has set himself the task of following Goethe day by day, almost step by step, in the four visits which the poet paid to the Harz district and showing the traces which they have left in his writings. His thorough knowledge both of the Harz scenery and of Goethe's poems has enabled him to produce an article as interesting as it is original.—The various attempts which have been made to construct a universal language have supplied Herr Scultheiss with materials for a most interesting paper of which the practical conclusion is, that in spite of all that has been written in praise of 'volapuk,' we are as far as ever from a solution of the problem.—Of Herr Brahm's 'Heligoland' we can simply say that it is as complete a sketch as description and illustrations can supply.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (July).—This number opens with an excellent essay on the life and works of Hans Sachs, the old German master-singer. Herr Karl Lucae does not do more—as regards the mere biographical matter—than reproduce what may be found in former sketches of the poet's life, but he introduces what other writers have often omitted, though Sachs himself furnishes good material for it, a description of Nürnberg in the fifteenth century. A considerable portion of the paper is devoted to Hans Sachs's work in the cause of Luther and the Reformation, and in this connexion we find not only an analysis of the famous allegory 'Die Wittenbergisch Nachtigall,' but also of the four prose dialogues in defence of the new doctrines. This latter part will be read with interest and profit even by those who are not altogether unfamiliar with 'the Poet of the Reformation,' for owing to the difficulty of procuring either the original edition or reprints of the dialogues, Hans Sachs's English biographers have not been able to do much more than merely mention them.—The article on 'The condition of Agriculture amongst the Germans in Sieberbürgen,' though ably written and important in itself does not appeal to a very wide circle.—The same remark applies to a paper by Herr Franz Zschech who, à propos of the projected construction of three canals recalls the circumstances under which the Friedrich-Wilhelms canal which connects the Elbe and the Oder was opened up.—Rudolf Haym's recently published work on Herder is the subject of an article by Herr Bernhard Suphan whose unqualified praise is very justly bestowed on an excellent biography of a remarkable man.—The next contribution is from the pen of Herr Rössler and is devoted to the eminent historian Leopold von Ranke.—The number closes with a paper in which Herr Wilhelm Altmann traces the rise and progress of the two oldest universities in Europe, those of Paris and Bologna.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (August).—The name of Frederick the Great appears in the title of two articles of which one is contributed by Herr Constantine Rössler and the other by Herr H. Ullmann. In the first of them, Herr Constantine Rössler proposes to review the political events which, for Prussia, have marked the first century since Frederick's death. In reality, it is a laboured panegyric of which the main idea is that whatever success has crowned Prussian policy and Prussian arms is directly owing to the Great Frederic.—Herr Ullmann entitles his paper—which is a reproduction of the lecture delivered by him on assuming the rectorship of the University of Greifswald—'The Historian Johannes von Müller and Frederick the Great.' The connexion between the two is not however a very close one. Müller a Swiss by birth, had acquired considerable celebrity by his history of the Confederacy. Ambitious to distinguish himself in diplomacy he succeeded in obtaining an audience from the King of Prussia, without, however, attaining the desired and

expected result. Later, he undertook, under the auspices of Frederick-William III. a biography of Frederick the Great, but to the great and not altogether unjust indignation of his patron, not only abandoned the work but allowed himself 'to sink into the quagmire of Bonapartist imperialism.'—Beysschlag's 'Life of Jesus,' a recently published work which has excited considerable interest even outside strictly theological circles owing both to the recognised position of the author and to the originality of his views, is critically examined by Herr Scholz. —A very able scientific paper by Herr A Döring examines the claims of Kant and Lambert to a share in the theory of the universe propounded by Laplace in his 'Exposition du système du monde.' Whilst doing full justice to the genius of Lambert, who, after having begun life as a tailor's apprentice, raised himself by his own unaided exertion to a foremost place amongst the scientists of his day, Herr Döring shows very conclusively that there is no real ground for connecting him with either his French or his German contemporary. With regard to Kant he comes to a more favourable conclusion, but he allows that though his theory of the heavenly bodies was published as early as 1775, Laplace was totally ignorant of its existence when he brought out the result of his own researches. —Besides a short article on the 'Crisis in England,' this number contains a long examination into the working of the copyright law in Germany.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (September).—The place of honour is again filled by Herr Rössler who, this time, comes forward with an essay on Gustav Freytag or better on the cycle of novels published under the name of 'Die Ahnen.' —Dr. Max Quarek discourses at great length on a subject which is not of absorbing interest to the general reader, at least in this country, to wit, the result of the Factories Act in Austria.—Our school-books have made us familiar with the heroic self-sacrifice of Arnold of Winkelried who, at the battle of Sempach, opened for his countrymen a way into the Austrian square, through the gap made by his own body as, seizing as many pikes as he could hold, he threw himself to the ground and allowed the Swiss to pass over him. Alas for Switzerland's heroes! Winkelried, it would appear is as apocryphal as Tell. Such, at least, is Herr Emil Theuner's contention in a very able paper which he devotes to an investigation of the question. His enquiry is conducted so systematically as to leave but little room for doubt. He shows us that the chronicles nearest in point of time to the battle of Sempach, are utterly ignorant of Winkelried and his heroic act. He shows us further where the legend originated and how it gradually developed. And, to make assurance doubly sure, he shows us, lastly, that the battle, as related by the best authorities, can have afforded no opportunity for the exploit attributed to Winkelried, the day having been lost to Austria by the impetuous and disorderly charge of her knights against the Swiss pikemen.—Much as has of late been written about the colonisation of East Africa by Germany, Dr. Ludwig Busse has been able to produce a readable article on the subject. His description of the various settlements contains little that has not already been published; the details which he gives of the stratagems employed to deceive England with regard to the destination of the first African expedition are not so well known. The first precaution taken was to make the 'Times' correspondent believe that the expedition was bound for the Congo. This having been successfully accomplished by Herr Leue, secretary of the society for German colonisation, Dr. Peters, Dr. Jühlke and Count Pfeil sailed from Trieste under assumed names and as second class passengers. Having landed in Zanzibar they proceeded into the interior under the pretence of a shooting trip. After this their task was comparatively light. The territory of Nguru was obtained from Mafungu-Biniani in exchange for a few cast-off hussar's jackets. Usegha cost literally only an old song, having been won by the singing of 'Was Kommt dort von der Höhl,' which so delighted the Sultan that he acceded to all that the musical adventurers demanded of him.

THE CHURCH REVIEW (July). This periodical, though not the organ of the American Episcopal Church, has among its contributors many of the most able writers belonging to that church, and claims to represent its thought and culture and varied intellectual and religious character. Some of the articles which

appear in its pages are more or less denominational, but others of them have a wider bearing. To the number of the latter belongs Bishop Huntingdon's carefully written and closely reasoned paper, entitled 'Some points in the Labour Questions,' which occupies the first place. The writer is of opinion that the conflict between Labour and Capital will never be finally settled until the principles of Christianity are more clearly apprehended and more thoroughly applied both by the purchasers and vendors of labour.—'The early Creeds of Asia' is a learned attempt based upon the Oxford translations of the Sacred Books of the East, to trace the origin of the best thoughts of the Hebrews up to their source. The present instalment deals chiefly with Assyrian and Persian thought and concludes that Zoroastrianism was not one of the earliest creeds of Asia, but was at first a protest against the polytheism of the Indo-Iranians and afterwards became corrupted by the Turanian polytheism, from which it was subsequently partly rescued soon after the beginning of the Christian era.

THE CHURCH REVIEW (August).—'The Church of Ireland' by Dr. Campbell Fair has been called forth by certain statements appearing in a previous number of the *Review* and is a fair statement of the case of the Church of Ireland against its disestablishment.—W. Richardson deals with the question: Can the General Convention prescribe the qualifications of members of diocesan Conventions? a question which seems to have been long under discussion in the American Episcopal Church. The next article bears the signature of A. W. Thayer and is of importance to students of the Old Testament. Its object is to show that the popular belief as to the character and ambition of the 'Bene Israel' in Egypt, particularly at the time of the Exodus, is an utterly mistaken one.

THE CHURCH REVIEW (September).—The most notable paper in this number is Dr. Sterrett's article on Hegel's *Philosophy of Religion*. The paper is mainly expository and is remarkable for its lucidity and readableness.—'The Theology of the Hebrew Christians' from the pen of Dr. C. K. Nelson is an attempt to define the character and theology of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*. The writer is scarcely justified in assuming that the ideas set forth by the writer of this epistle were identical with those held by those to whom the Epistle was addressed. The only other paper of general interest in this number is the Rev. T. S. Cartwright's on 'The Philosophy of the Supernatural,' which has for its text Dr. Plate's lectures bearing the same title as the article.

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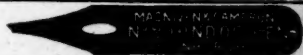
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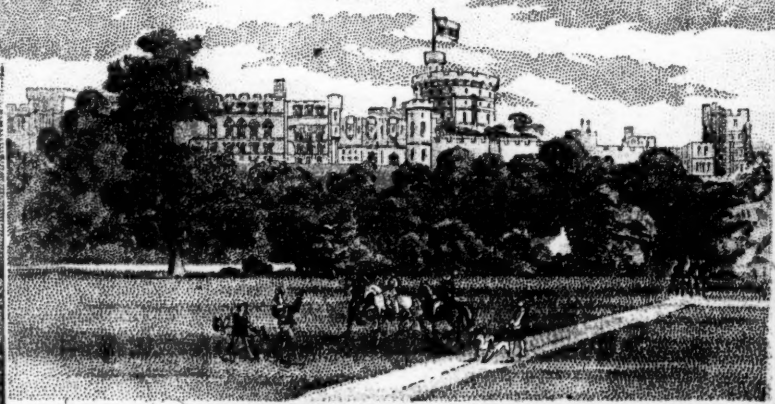
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414	1849	35	2000 0 0	3200 0 0	19300	1867	35	1000 0 0	1255 0 0
809	1851	49	200 0 0	312 0 0	22381	1869	29	1000 0 0	1225 0 0
1587	1853	41	1000 0 0	1520 0 0	24014	1871	43	1000 0 0	1195 0 0
2432	1855	34	1000 0 0	1480 0 0	26931	1873	26	500 0 0	582 10 0
4008	1857	54	200 0 0	288 0 0	28856	1875	41	5000 0 0	5675 0 0
5477	1859	39	300 0 0	420 0 0	31393	1877	17	300 0 0	331 10 0
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19	7	3	8	4	0	6	3	0	0	2	9	6
20	7	6	7	4	2	3	3	1	3	2	10	6
25	8	3	10	4	3	11	3	2	6	2	11	8
30	9	0	0	5	1	6	3	9	0	2	17	2
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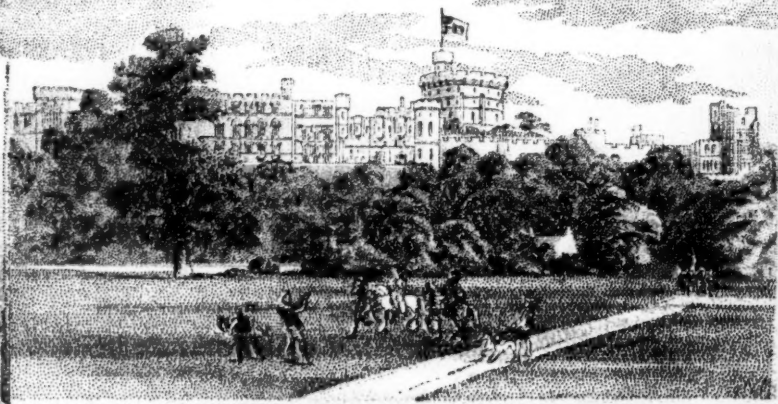
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